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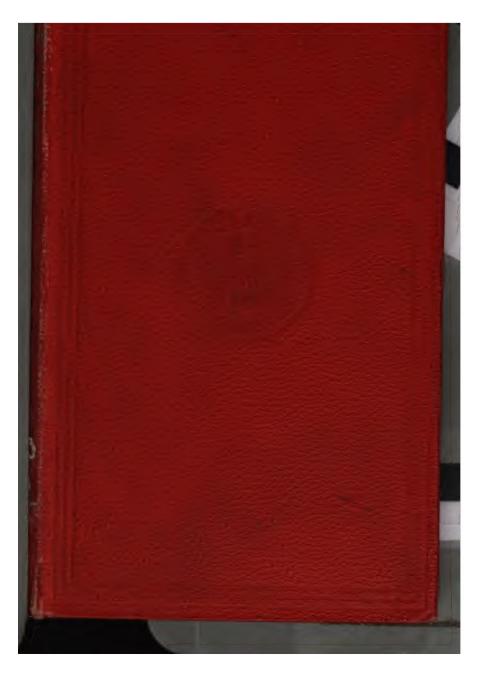
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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

HOLDEN



ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

THE HIERON OF XENOPHON

The Text adapted for the use of Schools

WITH INTRODUCTION SUMMARIES

CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AND INDEXES

BY THE

REV. HUBERT A. HOLDEN M.A. LL.D.

EXAMINER IN GREEK TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
SOMETIME FELLOW AND LECTURER OF TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE
EDITOR OF ARISTOPHANES. PLUTARCH'S THEMISTOGLES. GRACOHI. NIKIAS ETC.

THIRD EDITION

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PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

Among the neglected minor writings of Xenophon one of the most graceful and interesting is the *Hieron*. Cobet speaks of it as *venustissimus libellus*, and the passage in it which describes the change from the contentment of private life to the anxieties of sovereignty (cap. vi § 1—8) has been pronounced by Prof. Mahaffy in his *History of Greek Literature* to be perhaps the most striking in all our remains of Xenophon.

Interesting, however, though the *Hieron* undoubtedly is, as contributing, along with Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics* and Herodotus' discussion of the Seven Conspirators to our mental picture of the Greek tyrant—it had never before been edited with notes in English, or as a separate work, until I published an edition in 1883; and it is nearly forty years since the last annotated edition appeared in Germany. The dialogue is admirably suited to School purposes, and, the only objection that could be raised to its use having been removed h. I.

in this edition, I hope that its present form will secure it a more favourable reception.

The explanatory notes have been throughout carefully revised; new matter has been added, while of the old, compression here, expansion there, and, where necessary, excision have been employed unsparingly. Reference has been made throughout to Hadley-Allen's grammar, as well as that of Prof. Goodwin.

In settling the text I have adopted a course midway between the conservatism of Sauppe and the bold criticism of Cobet and C. Schenkl. An editor of any portion of Xenophon's work is placed in considerable difficulty. No writer probably has suffered more from the glosses of scholiasts and the ignorance of copyists importing the usages of their own day into his text; and on the other hand there is practically, as Mr Rutherford boldly avows, no standard of criticism possible for him. For although many later writers have commended his style as the perfection of Attic, calling him the 'Attic bee,' 'the Attic Muse' and so forth, it is certain that we cannot reasonably apply the same standard to him as may be justly applied to Aristophanes, Plato and the Orators.

Demosthenes speaks of Athenians losing the Attic purity of diction by absence from Athens, and Xenophon is a conspicuous example of this, often indeed quoted by the Greeks themselves e.g. Helladios (a grammarian of the 5th century A.D.), who remarks that 'it is not a matter of wonder that a man like

Xenophon, who spent his time in military service and in intercourse with foreigners, should occasionally adulterate his mother-tongue; on which account no one should consider him as an authority on Atticism.' He must have picked up in his wanderings many Laconian and Ionian expressions and many old words uncongenial to Attic, which reappear mostly in the common dialect (κοινή διάλεκτος), to which his style distinctly approximates.

Hence it is difficult to exhibit a satisfactory Text, for, to use Sauppe's words (de Xenophontis vita et scriptis Commentatio, Opp. vol. 1 p. xvi), 'aut metuendum est, ne constanter restituta antiquioris atticismi integritate orationis colorem exstinguas scriptoris proprium, quem ab ea descivisse iam olim concessum sit, aut cavendum, ne elegantissimo laudatissimoque scriptori congestarum ex omnibus fere dialectis formarum turpem varietatem iniungas, quaerendumque ubique, quae legentem offendant aut parum emendate scripta videantur utrum tribuenda ei an eximenda sint.'

H. A. H.

London March 10 1888

ADDENDA

P. 54 ch. IV § 5 l. 27 add:—We know from Xen. (Hell. vr iv 32) that the murderers of Jason of Pherae, who was not an oppressive ruler (Diod. xv 61), were publicly honoured in most of the Greek states they visited (Xen. Hell. vr iv 32). On the other hand in the same work (vII iii 12) we are told that the memory of Euphron, tyrant of Sikyon, was idolized by his subjects, who buried him in the agora and worshipped him as the second founder of their state.

Popular hatred is unequivocally expressed in the conduct of the Agrigentines, who forbade their citizens to wear the colour which had been worn by the body-guards of their tyrant Phalaris. But heroic honours were awarded to Gelon and Theron (Diod. xi 38, 53); and their names with those of a Kypselus, a Kleisthenes and a Peisistratus have been handed down to posterity with the glory they deserve. NEWMAN Aristotle's Politics Vol. I p. 544.

- P. 70 ch. vii § 111. 61 add:—Polybius records the voluntary abdication of Iseas, tyrant of Karuneia, about B. c. 281 a century and more after the composition of this dialogue. See his Hist. ii 42, where Mr Capes observes 'Few usurpers could safely abdicate in Greece, as no constitutional forms could be observed in transferring the power which had no legal basis. The story of Maeandrius of Samos (Herod. iii 142) illustrates the difficulty of such abdication; the language of the historian in the case of Cadmus of Cos shows that it was very rare in the earlier period (Herod. vii 164, 1)'. Cp. the remarks of Grote (Hist. of Greece, Vol. xi p. 212 ed. 1) on the resignation of Dionysius the younger.
- P. 76 oh. viii § 10 l. 48: add:—Cf. Arist. Polit. iii c. 9 p. 1285a, 24 καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οἱ γὰρ πολίται φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλείς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐκόντων οἱ δὰ ἀκόντων ἄρχουσιν.
- P. 78 ch. IX § 3 l. 11 add:—Cf. Plutarch Philop. c. 7, 4 κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νέων ἔκαστον ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν συνεξορμῶν καὶ κολάζων τοὺς ἀνάγκης δεομένους, and for 'coercion' read 'pressure'.
- P. 81 ch. ix § 9 l. 45 add:—The recommendations of Simonides may have been present, as is suggested by Mr Newman, to Aristotle's mind, when he wrote, expressing his disapproval of the proposition to award honours to those who claimed to have discovered something advantageous to the state (Pol. ii 8 p. 1268b, 22): περί δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσί τι τῆ πόλει συμφέρον ὡς δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα τιμήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐδφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι μόνον ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, ἀν τύχη, πολιτείας.

CONTENTS

PAGES										
xi—lii	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٧.	UCTION	INTROD
xi—xv				ogue	Dial	f the	bject d	ie Ol	On th	1
xv—xxxix					in it	utors	terloc	he in	On th	2
xxxix—lii				eks	e Gre	of th	pavvls	he tv	On th	8
126										TRXT
2990				•						NOTES
93—105							rx .	ENDI	L APP	CRITICA
109-128									s .	INDEXE



INTRODUCTION

1. The object of the dialogue

THE general scope of the Hieron, which is a treatise thrown into the form of a dialogue between Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and Simonides of Keos, the celebrated lyric poet, is the same as that of the historical romance of the Cyropaedeia in which Xenophon has set out his own theories of an ideal monarchy. The subject which he treats of is the species of monarchy which the Greeks called Tupavvis, i.e. 'a Despotism founded on the overthrow of constitutional government.' But in its tendency it is ethic rather than political. 'It examines' says Mure' 'neither the modes in which a tyranny may originate, nor the policy by which the constitutional party may best counteract the despot's schemes or undermine the tyrannical government in its turn. The argument is mainly directed against the vulgar opinion, that the possession of tyrannical power, with its unlimited sources of personal gratification, is necessarily a source of happiness.' 'It illustrates

¹ The alternative title τυραννικός, like that of οἰκονομικός, κυνηγετικός and ἰππαρχικός, agrees with λόγος understood.

² Hist. of Grecian Literature, Vol. 1v p. 428.

what Xenophon calls the torment of Tantalus-the misery of a despot who has to extort obedience from unwilling subjects; -especially if the despot be one who has once known the comfort and security of private life, under tolerably favourable circumstances. If we compare this dialogue with the Platonic Gorgias, where a very analogous thesis is handled in respect to Archelaus—we shall find Plato soaring into a sublime ethical region of his own, measuring the despot's happiness and misery by a standard peculiar to himself and making good what he admits to be a paradox by abundant eloquence covering faulty dialectic: while Xenophon applies to human life the measure of a rational common sense, talks about pleasures and pains which every one can feel to be such and points out how many of these pleasures the despot forfeits, how many of these pains and privations he undergoes, -in spite of that great power of doing hurt, and less power, though still considerable, of doing good, which raises the envy of spectators. The Hieron gives utterance to an interesting vein of sentiment, more common at Athens than elsewhere in Greece-serving as a corrective protest against unqualified worship of power",

What was Xenophon's design in composing this

³ Grote, History of Plato and the other Companions of Socrates Vol. III p. 577. Cp. Lerminier, Histoire des législateurs et des constitutions de la Grèce antique, Tome I p. 154 f: Xénophon n'a ni l'austère gravité d'Aristote, ni la dramatique véhémence de Platon, mais peut-être dans le Hiéron, où son style et ses peintures ont une réalité si pénétrante, s'est-il montré plus vrai que ces deux grands génies qui le dépassent par tant cutres côtés

dialogue, and why he should have represented Simonides as advising the tyrant who had hitherto pursued a course of violence and rigour to try a milder and more refined policy, at a time when all despotic governments in Greece had come to an end, is a problem which cannot be solved. The solution suggested by Delbruech' in his Apology for Xenophon, viz. that the contemporaneous events in Thessaly gave occasion to it, is a plausible one and deserves to be considered. Some time during Xenophon's retreat at Skillus, where so many of his works were produced, Jason was engaged in the struggles against the old aristocratic families of Thessaly, which ended in his becoming tyrant of Pherae and ultimately in 374 B.C. sovereign (rayos) of the whole country, with the exception of Pharsalus (of which Polydamas was ruler), and his power became so great, that it excited much apprehension in Greece. Letronne

⁴ Xenophon. Zur Rettung seiner durch B. G. Niebuhr gefährdeten Ehre, 1829, p. 93.

⁵ In Elis, some miles south of Olympia, where an estate had been assigned to him by the Lacedaemonians, which they had wrosted from the Eleans. See *Anab*. v 3, 7.

⁶ Il est bien possible que le choix d'un tel sujet se rattache au voyage que l'auteur a dû faire en Sicile, puisque Athénée rapporte un mot de Xénophon, fils de Gryllus, à la table de Denys le tyran (x p. 427—8). C'est, il est vrai, la seule trace qui existe d'un tel voyage: mais, comme il n'a rien que de très-vraisemblable à cette époque où tant d'Athéniens visitaient Syracuse, nous n'avons réellement aucun motif de le rejeter. Denys l'ancien a régné de 406 à 367; dans le cours de ces trente-neuf années, il n'y a gnère que deux intervalles qui conviennent à ce voyage, celui de 405 à 401, année du départ de Xénophon pour l'Asie; et celui de 399 à 394, qui comprend

suggests that Xenophon may have been led to write the dialogue by what he saw at the court of Dionysius the elder, who was tyrant of Syracuse from B.C. 406 to B.C. 367; and there is a story of his having visited Sicily in the lifetime of the tyrant. Grote⁷

l'espace entre son retour d'Asie et son départ pour aller rejoindre Agésilas. Il est difficile de se décider entre l'un et l'autre: nous penchons néanmoins pour le premier; mais quelque opinion qu'on adopte à cet égard, il nous paraît assez probable que la rédaction de l'Hiéron doit se rattacher à ce voyage. Xénophon, de retour de Syracuse, l'âme encore teute remplie du spectacle des inquiétudes de Denvs et des movens violents qu'il employait pour maintenir son autorité naissante, a pu concevoir l'idée de ce dialogue, l'un des plus parfaits écrits qui soient sortis de sa plume sous le rapport de la diction et de l'enchaînement des pensées. Dans cette hypothèse l'Hiéron aurait été composé entre 404 et 401, sous les yeux et peut-être par les conseils même de Socrate. L'auteur était alors âgé de quarante ans.—Biographie Universelle, Tome xlv p. 188 a, 1851. But according to Grote l.c. p. 578 the tenor of the anecdote points to the younger Dionysius: if so, the visit must have been later than 367 B.C., and therefore subsequent probably to the composition of the Hieron.

7 'That the Syracusan Hieron should be elected as an exemplifying name, may be explained by the circumstance, that during 38 years of Xenophon's mature life (405—367 B.C.) Dionysius the elder was despot of Syracuse; a man of energy and ability, who had extinguished the liberties of his native city, and acquired power and dominion greater than that of any living Greek. Xenophon, resident at Skillus, within a short distance from Olympia, had probably seen (Anab. v iii 11) the splendid Theôry (or sacred legation of representative envoys) installed in rich and ornamented tents, and the fine running horses sent by Dionysius at the xcixth Olympic festival (384 B.C.); but he probably also heard the execration with which the name of Dionysius himself had been received by the

also and Lerminier⁸ hold like opinions as to the origin of the dialogue.

2. On the interlocutors of the dialogue

There were two tyrants of Syracuse named Hieron, one who reigned from 478 to 467 B.C.; the other, from 270 to 216 B.C., the great ally of the Romans in their struggle against the Carthaginians. The one who gives his name to the present dialogue was the elder of the two, son of Deinomenes' and brother of Gelon, the tyrant of Gela and subsequently of Syracuse, who was renowned for his great victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C. 10. spectators, and he would feel that the despot could hardly show himself there in person. There were narratives in circulation about the interior life of Dionysius, analogous to those statements which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Hieron. A predecessor of Dionysius as despot of Syracuse and also as patron of poets, was therefore a suitable person to choose for illustrating the first part of Xenophon's thesis—the countervailing pains and penalties which spoilt all the value of power, if exercised over unwilling and repugnant subjects.'-l. c. p. 577.

- 8 Platon, qui à Syracuse fut l'hôte des deux Denys, n'avait qu'à recueillir ses souvenirs pour peindre le gouvernement arbitraire des tyrans, leurs calculs, leurs transes et l'espèce de fatalité qui les emprisonnait. Un autre disciple de Socrate, Xénophon rapporta également de Syracuse des impressions qui lui servirent à composer un de ces ouvrages aimables et courts dans lesquels les anciens mariaient la raison et la grâce avec un charme ineffable. l. c. p. 153.
 - 9 Pindar Pyth. 1 79, 11 18.
- 10 Herod. vii 166. Diodorus Siculus (xi 25) tells us that the number of captives taken by Gelon was so great ωστε δοκείν ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην αἰχμάλωτον. The conditions of the peace were so much more favourable than the

—popularly put on the same day as the battle of Salamis, but really won somewhat earlier—by which he obtained a great accession of power and influence. Hieron's share in the glory of that day was commemorated by his brother in the inscription at Delphi which recorded his triumph¹¹.

The accounts of Hieron's succession to the kingdom of his brother vary. It is stated by Diodorus Siculus¹⁸ that Gelon appointed him his successor. According to others, however, Gelon left an infant son, whom Hieron, his guardian, displaced and thus became an usurper. Hieron's rule was more severe and tyrannical than that of his elder brother and he became jealous of his more popular brother Polyzelos, who was at the head of the army and had married

Carthaginians expected owing to the intervention of Gelon's wife Demaretê (ib. c. 26), that in gratitude they presented her with a hundred talents of gold, from the proceeds of which were struck, circa B.C. 479, the celebrated Syracusan medallions or properly speaking Pentekontalitra or Dekadrachms (pieces of 50 litrae or 10 Attic drachms) surnamed Demareteia (Simonides fr. 196 ed. Schneidewin). See Mr B. V. Head's interesting monograph on the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse, p. 8, London, 1874, also his Historia numorum, p. 151.

¹¹ Schol, on Pind. Pyth. 1 80, φασί δε τὸν Γελωνα τοὺς άδελ-φοὺς φιλοφρονούμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦς τρίποδας ἐπιγρά-ψαντα ταῦτα

Φημλ Γέλων', ' Ιέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον, παΐδας Δεινομένευς, τον τρίποδ' άνθέμεναι, βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη ' πολλην δὲ παρασχείν σύμμαχον "Ελλησιν χείρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

12 ΧΙ C. 38 ὁ βασιλεύς Γέλων ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας συνεχόμενος καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελπίσας τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν Ἱέρωνι τῷ πρεσβυτάτψ τῶν άδελφῶν.

Demarete, widow of the late tyrant and daughter of Theron tyrant of Agrigentum. Hieron is said to have sent him on a military expedition to Italy or Sicily, in hopes that he might fall in war. His design was unsuccessful and Hieron's suspicion and jealousy led ultimately to an open quarrel between the brothers, when Polyzelos took refuge with his father-in-law. Theron was about to support his cause by an armed intervention when the brothers became reconciled by the mediation, it is said, of Simonides, and Hieron in the end married Theron's sister 13.

We have nothing but fragmentary notices of the events of the reign of Hieron, but, such as they are, they suffice to attest his great power and influence. In Sicily he was not only master of Syracuse, Gela, Kamarina and Megara Hyblaea, which cities had been under the sway of Gelon, but he obtained pos-

¹³ Schol. ad Pindar. Olymp. II 37: ὁ θήρων οδτος, 'Ακραγαντίνων βασιλεύων, Γέλωνι τω 'Ιέρωνος άδελφω ἐπικηδεύσας γάμω συνάπτει την αυτού θυγατέρα, Δημαρέτην, τού δὲ Γέλωνος τελευτήσαντος Πολύζηλος ὁ άδελφὸς αὐτοῦ την βασιλείαν καὶ την γαμετήν αὐτοῦ διαδέγεται. λαμποώ δέ δυτι αὐτώ κατά την Σικελίαν Ιέρων ὁ άδελφός φθονήσας και προφασισάμενος τον πρός Συβαρίτας πόλεμον, έξάγει τούτον της νήσου. κατωρθωκότος ούν και τούτον τον πόλεμον Πολυξήλου ὁ Ίέρων, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ γένοιτο, πρός αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο νεωτερίζειν. Θήρων οῦν, ὑπεραγανακτήσας θυγατρός άμα και γαμβρού, συρράξαι πρός Ίέρωνα ήβούλετο πόλεμον, δν Σιμωνίδης ὁ λυρικός καταπαύει διαλλάξας, ώς καὶ κηδείαν πρός άλλήλους ποιήσασθαι, Ίέρωνος λαβόντος την του θήρωνος άδελφήν. Diodoros (x1 48) gives rather a different version of the story. He states that Theron abandoned his hostile intentions out of gratitude to Hieron for betraying the designs of the people of Himera, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Thrasydseos, their governor, son of Theron, and sought the aid of Hieron.

session also of the powerful cities of Naxos and Katana. The inhabitants of the two latter were removed to Leontini, and he peopled them with Syracusan and other Dorians, giving Katana the new name of Aetna 14. His influence extended as far as Magna Graecia, for we find him interposing in the affairs of the cities there on two several occasions, when he prevented the destruction of Locri by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, without armed intervention, and again, when he procured the retirement of Mikythos from Rhegium in favour of the two sons of the same Anaxilas 15. An attempt of Thrasydaeos on the death of his father Theron in 472 B.C.

14 Diod. Sic. xI 49 'Ιέρων δὲ τούς τε Ναξίους και τούς Καταναίους έκ των πόλεων άναστήσας ίδιους οικήτορας άπέστειλεν, έκ μέν Πελοποννήσου πεντακισχιλίους άθροίσας, έκ δέ Συρακουσών άλλους τοσούτους προσθείς και την μέν Κατάνην μετωνόμασεν Αίτνην, την δέ χώραν οὐ μόνον την Καταναίαν άλλά και πολλην της δμόρου προσθείς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκήτορας. Τούς δε Ναξίους και τούς Καταναίους εκ των πατρίδων μετώκισεν είς τούς Λεοντίνους και μετά των έγχωρίων προσέταξε κατοικείν την πόλιν. Schol. on Pindar Pyth. 1 l. 118 άνακτίσας την Κατάνην δ Ίέρων και Αίτνην μετονομάσας, διοικείν Δεινομένει τώ υίω ταύτην δέδωκεν έν νόμοις της Δωρίδος στάθμης. Schol, ad Ol. I 35, Pyth. I l. 1 την Κατάνην άνακτίσας δμωνύμως τῷ παρακειμένω δρει Αίτναν προσηγόρευσε και Αίτναιον έαυτον κατά τούς dyώνας νικών άνεκήρυξεν. Hence in a fragment 71, 2, quoted by Strabo vi p. 412 A, Pindar addresses him as Κτίστορ Αίτνας. Cf. Nem, 1x 3.

15 Schol, ad Pind. Pyth. I 98 ὅτι δὲ ᾿Αναξίλαος Λόκρους ἡθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς Ἱέρωνος, ἰστορεῖ καὶ Ἐκίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις, ib. II 34 ᾿Αναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσήνης καὶ Ἡρηγίου τυράννου Λοκροῖς πολεμοῦντος, Ἱέρων πέμψας Χρόμιον τὸν κηδεστήν διηπείλησεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καταλύσαιτο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, αὐτὸς ποὸς τὸ Ὑρήνιον στρατεύειν.

to attack Syracuse ended in his complete defeat by Hieron and ultimate downfall. But Hieron's chief glory dates from his great victory in a sea-fight 474 B.C. with the Etruscans. The near Kume in which he shattered the naval power of the people, to whose early θαλαττοκρατία the Tyrrhenum Mare owed its

The government of Hieron appears from the accounts of ancient writers to have been considerably more severe and despotic than that of his father. Diodorus after praising the mildness and peaceful end of Gelon's reign uses very different language about

16 Diod. Sic. x1 53.

17 To this Pindar Pyth. 1 71 ff. refers:

λίσσομαι, νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἄμερον

δφρα κατ' οίκον ο Φοίνιξ ο Τυρσανών τ' άλαλατὸς έχη, ναυσίστο-

νον δβριν ίδών ταν πρό Κύμας.

οία Συρακοσίων άρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον,

ώκυπόρων άπο ναών δ σφιν έν πόντω βάλεθ' άλικίαν,

'Ελλάδ' έξέλκων βαρείας δουλείας,

i.e. 'grant, I beseech thee, my prayer, son of Kronos, that the war-party (lit. war-cry) of the Phoenician and Tyrrhenian hosts may remain in peace and quiet at home, now that they have witnessed the discomfiture of their fleet off Cumae, in what plight they were when vanquished by the lord of Syracuse, who cast into the sea the flower of their youth from off the swift-sailing ships, so drawing Hellas (Magna Graecia) out of the heavy yoke of bondage.' Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 51. A bronze helmet, now in the British Museum, was found at Olympia in A.D. 1817, with the following inscription:

'Ιάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος και τοι Συρακόσιοι τῷ Δι Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας,

(Böckh C.I.G. 16, Hicks' Manual no. 15) where $Tv\rho \dot{\alpha} \nu'$ is for $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ $Tv\rho \dot{\rho} \alpha \nu \dot{\alpha}$, 'the Etruscan spoils.'

Hieron. He says¹⁸: 'Ιέρων, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἦρχε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων' ἦν γὰρ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καθόλου τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ καλοκάγαθίας τάδελφοῦ ἀλλοτριώτατος. Pindar in the four Odes, in which he celebrates the victories won by Hieron at the Olympian and Pythian games, cautions him against particular faults e.g. pride such as ruined Tantalus¹⁹, avarice³⁰, encouragement of flatterers²¹, and presumption²², and exhorts him to liberality and moderation in his desires. Aristotle also in his Politics²³ makes a passing allusion to his jealous and

18 xt 67.

19 Ol. 1 54-57

εί δὲ δή τιν' ἄνδρα θνατὸν 'Ολύμπου σκοποὶ ἐτίμασαν, ἦν Τάνταλος οὖτος: ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι μέγαν δλβον οὖκ ἐδυνάσθη, κόρω δ' ἔλεν ἄταν ὑπέροπλον,

i.e. 'for surely, if ever there was a mortal man that the guardians of Olympus honoured, that man was Tantalos. But he was not able to digest his great happiness, but through excess of it he got an overwhelming woe.'

²⁰ Pyth. 1 90—94

είπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοὰν ἡδεῖαν αἰεὶ κλύειν, μἡ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις. ἐξίει δ' ὤσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνὴρ

lστίον άνεμόεν. μη δολωθής, ὧ φίλος, εὐτραπέλοις κέρδεσσι.....
...οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων άρετά,

i.e. 'if you care to hear at all times a pleasing report of yourself, be not troubled too much about expenses, but like a pilot let out your sail to the wind. Be not deceived, my friend, by juggling gains...Croesus' kindness and generosity is not forgotten,'

21 Pyth. n 72 ff.

22 Pyth. 111 55 ff.

 23 v p. 1313b, 14. Cf. $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\hat{\imath}$ s Plut. Dion. c. 2 and c. 28.

suspicious temper, as shown in the system of espionage which he established and the employment of 'talebearers' (ποταγωγίδες, as they were called at Syracuse) and 'eaves-droppers' (ωτακουσταί). Xenophon 24 himself puts into his mouth this confession: οἱ τύραννοι αναγκάζονται πλείστα συλάν αδίκως και ίερα και ανθρώπους δια τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδεῖσθαι yonuaτων, from which and from the admonitions addressed to him by Simonides it may be inferred that Hieron did not abstain from rapine and sacrilege and that there was much in his conduct towards his subjects, which was generally regarded with disapprobation. On the other hand there are not wanting proofs that, with this alloy of baseness in his character, he had some considerable merits. Thus, Pindar bestows praises on his gentleness and hospitality 25, his justice 26,

δε Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς πραΰε άστοῖε, οὐ φθονέων άγαθοῖε, ξείνοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ, i.e. 'who rules at Syracuse, a king courteous to citizens, not jealous of the good but looked up to as a father by strangers.'

26 Olymp. vi 92 ff.

είπον δε μεμνασθαι Συρακοσσαν τε και 'Ορτυγίας' τὰν 'Ι έρων καθαρῷ σκάπτι διέπων, ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν άμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἐορτάν, και Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος,

i.e. 'and bid them make special mention both of Syracuse and of Ortygia, which Hieron rules with righteous sceptre, pursuing truthful counsels, and worships Demeter of the ruddy foot, the festival of her daughter with the white steeds and the majesty of Aetnean Zeus.'

²⁴ rv 11.

²⁵ Pyth. III 70 ff.-

his love of excellence ²⁷, and his virtues in general ²⁸. To these passages we may add Plutarch's judgment of him: ἀλλὰ Γέλωνά γε ἴσμεν καὶ Ἱέρωνα τοὺς Σικελιώτας καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἱπποκράτους ὅτι πονηρία κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐλθόντες ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς ἄρχοντες ²⁹.

27 Olymp. 1 103 ff.-

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μή τιν' ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἴδριν ἄμμε καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλώσεμεν ὅμνων πτυχαῖς,
θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται
ἔχων τοῦτο κάδος, 'Ιέρων,
μερίμναισιν'

i.e. 'and I am confident that there is no host of the present time whom I can bedeck with the artistic turns of song, that is at once more acquainted with honours and has more rightful influence in his power. The god who is your family guardian makes you, Hieron, his special care and has regard to your interests.'

28 Ol. 7 11 ff.-

i.e. 'of Hieron, who wields the judicial sceptre in Sicily, the land that teems with fruit, culling the heads from all kinds of virtues, and he rejoiceth also in music's rarest bloom, to wit, in such festive lays as we men oft raise at the friendly hoard.'

²⁹ de sera numinis vindicta p. 551 f.

There are two passages in Aelian where Hieron is mentioned favourably, one at least of which may perhaps help us to reconcile these contradictory accounts. He says that Hieron was at first as illiterate as his brother Gelon, but that after a severe illness his character in this respect underwent a complete change and he became humanised and a devoted patron of learning ³⁰. Elsewhere ⁸¹ he gives him a very much better character than Diodorus Siculus does.

From whatever cause, whether in consequence of the severe illness with which he was attacked in the fourth year of his reign (474 B.C.) or after he had established his authority more firmly, Hieron seems to have become more amiable and to have displayed more of the qualities, that ought to distinguish those

30 var. hist. IV 15 'Ιέρωνά φασι τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον τὰ πρῶτα ἰδιώτην (rudem) εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμουσότατον καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατ' όλίγον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφέρειν τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ συνηνέχθη νοσῆσαι, μουσικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τὴν σχολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας εἰς ἀκούσματα πεπαιδευμένα καταθέμενος. ῥωσθεὶς οδν 'Ιέρων συνῆν Σιμωνίδη τῷ Κείψ καὶ Πινδάρφ τῷ Θηβαίψ καὶ Βακχυλίδη τῷ 'Ιουλιήτη. ὁ δὲ Γέλων ἄνθρωπος ἄμουσος.

31 ib. IX 1 'Ιέρωνά φασι τον Συρακόσιον φιλέλληνα γενέσθαι και τιμήσαι παιδείαν ἀνδρειότατα. Και ὡς ἢν προχειρότατος εἰς τὰς εὐεργεσίας λέγουσι: προθυμότερον γὰρ αὐτόν φασιν χαρίζεσθαι ἢ τοὺς αἰτοῦντας λαμβάνειν. ἢν δὲ και τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρειότατος. ἀβασανίστως δὲ και τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβίωσε τρισὶν οὖσι, πάνυ σφόδρα ἀγαπήσας αὐτοὺς και ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιληθεὶς ἐν τῷ μέρει. Τούτψ φασὶ και Σιμωνίδης συνεβίωσε και Πίνδαρος, κιὶ οὐκ ὥκνησέ γε Σιμωνίδης, βαρὺς ὧν ὑπὸ γήρως, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. "Ην μὲν γὰρ τῷ φύσει φιλάργυρος ὁ Κεῖος, προϋτρεπε δὲ αὐτὸν και πλέον ἡ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος φιλοδωρία, φασί.

who rule over others, than he had shown at the beginning of his reign.

Be that as it may, whatever his defects and demerits, however inferior he was to Gelon⁸² in the mildness of his rule, Hieron evinced his superiority over his brother by the liberal patronage which he accorded to men of letters, so that his court became a centre of literature and art and the resort of the most distinguished poets and philosophers of the day. Aeschylus⁸³, and Simonides⁸⁴ were admitted to intimacy with him; Bakchylides 85 and Pindar were frequent visitors at his court; Epicharmos also of Kos and Xenophanes of Kolophon appear to have been on intimate terms with him. Intercourse with men of this stamp must have done much to humanise the tyrant's natural tastes and inclinations, and we may fairly assume him to have been an instance of the truth of Horace's 36 maxim:-

> nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit, si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.

In his love of splendour and in the magnificence of his court Hieron surpassed other Hellenic tyrants³⁷.

³² Diod. Sic. xi c. 26 δ Γέλων έχρῆτο πᾶσιν ἐπιεικῶς, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ σπεύδων ἄπαντας ἔχειν ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἰδίους: ib. c. 38 τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐπιεικῶς προεστηκότος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν καὶ πολλὴν εὐνομίαν τε καὶ πάντων ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίαν παρεγομένου ταῖς πόλεσι.

⁸⁸ Pausanias I 2, 3.

⁸⁴ Athenseus xiv c. 72 p. 656 p, Aelian ubi supra.

⁸⁵ Aelian ubi supra, Schol. on Pindar Pyth. II 131.

²⁶ Epist. 1 i 40.

Herodotus III 125 must refer to Hieron when he says:
δτι μή οΙ Συρακοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι, οὐδὲ εἶς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν

The inscription on the noble gift, which he vowed to the Olympian Zeus and which was set up after his death by his son Deinomenês at Olympia, recorded, according to Pausanias 25, that he was three times successful at the great Olympic contests, twice with the single-horse, and once in the four-horse chariot-race. The first of these distinctions is celebrated by Pindar in his first \$\frac{2}{\pi}\left(\vertice{\pi}\right)\right) and elsewhere, have been, as we have already seen, immortalised by the Theban bard. Like his brother Gelon he sent splendid offerings to the temple at Delphi 25 also in commemoration of his victories.

τυράννων άξιος έστι Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπείην συμβληθήναι. Cf. Plutarch Themist. c. 25.

38 VIII 42, 8 'Ιέρωνος άποθανόντος πρότερον πρίν ή τῷ 'Ολυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εδξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἴππων ταῖς νίκαις, οδτω Δεινομένης δ 'Ιέρωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός. 'Ονάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν 'Ολυμπία, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν'

Σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ 'Ολύμπιε, σεμνόν άγῶνα τεθρίππφ μὲν ἄπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δίς, δῶρ' 'Ιέρων τάδε σοι έχαρίσσατο' παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε Δεινομένης πατρός μνῆμα Συρακοσίου.

τὸ δὲ ἔτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων

Τίδς μέν με Μίκωνος 'Ονάτας έξετέλεσσεν νάσφ έν Αίγίνη δώματα ναιετάων.

ib. VI 12, 1: πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκώς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλητες δὲ ἴπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἶς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔστηκε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παίδες. ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις 'Ολυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν 'Ιέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένους τυραννήσαντος Συρακοσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ 'Ιέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ 'Ιέρωνος, ἔργα δέ, τὸ μὲν 'Ονάτα τοῦ Αίγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλαμίδος δὲ οἱ ἔπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ παίδες.

Athenseus v1 c. 20 p. 231—2: Ιστορούσιν οδτοι (8c. Φανίας

Hieron became the type of splendid misery as he had been of splendid success; for during his life he lived in an atmosphere of treachery and meanness, surrounded by sycophants and informers, and he was the victim of great bodily suffering. He died Ol. 78, 2, B.C. 467 at his favoured Aetna, in the territory of Katana, in the 12th year of his reign⁴⁰, where he was interred with heroic honours as the founder of the city⁴¹: but his tomb was afterwards destroyed by the former inhabitants on their return to the town after expelling the new colonists.

The other interlocutor in the imaginary dialogue is the poet Simonides, son of Leoprepes, of Iulis in the island of Keos, whose life extended from Ol. 56, 1 to Ol. 78, 1 (=556—468 B.C.), the most stirring and eventful, if not the most glorious, period of Greek history⁴². He was one of a family,

ό Ἐρέσιος καὶ Θεόπομπος) κοσμηθήναι τὸ Πυθικὸν ἱερὸν ὑπό τε τοῦ Γύγου καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτον Κροίσου, μεθ' οις ὑπό τε Γέλωνος καὶ Ἱέρωνος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, τοῦ μὲν τρίποδα καὶ νίκην χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα ἀναθέντος καθ' οὖς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπεστράτευε τῷ Ἑλλάδι, τοῦ δ' Ἱέρωνος τὰ ὅμοια. Athenaeus proceeds with the story told by Theopompos how Hieron, teing unable to procure pure gold for his offerings, had to send to Hellas, where he bought some of Architelês of Corinth δς πολλῷ χρόνῳ συνωνούμενος κατὰ μικρὸν θησαυροὺς εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους.

⁴⁰ Schol. ad Pind. Ol. 1 1, Pyth. 1 89, 111 1, Diod. Sic. x11 38 'Ιέρων... έβασίλευσε των Συρακουσίων έτη ένδεκα και μήνας όκτώ, ib. 1 166, Aristot. Pol. v c. 12, Plutarch de Pyth. orac. 19.

⁴¹ Diod. Sic. xi 66 'Ιέρων δὲ...ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ Κατάνη καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἄν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πόλεως. The founding of Aetna was celebrated by Aesohylus in his Αἰτναῖαι (γυναῖκες) and by Pindar in his first Pythian.

⁴² According to his own testimony in the Epigram in

in which music and poetry was an hereditary art, and which held some office in connexion with the worship of Dionysos. He was himself chorus-teacher in the town of Carthaea where the house of the chorus (xopyyeiov) was his usual abode 43. From his native island he migrated to Athens at the invitation of the Peisistratid Hipparchos⁴⁴, at whose court he spent several years (B.C. 527-514), at the same time as Anacreon and his rival, the dithyrambic poet Lasos, Pindar's teacher 45, and was highly esteemed by him. After the murder of Hipparchos in B.C. 514 (of which event the poet speaks as a great light to Athens 46, although the tyrant was so great a benefactor to him personally) and the subsequent overthrow of Hippias in B.C. 510 Simonides spent the next period of his life in Thessaly with the families of the Aleuadae and Skopadae, the hereditary grandees of Thessaly, whose names have been rescued from oblivion by the

Planudes (Jacobs Anth. Palat. Append. Epigr. 79 = 203 Schneidewin) he was 80 years old in Ol. 75, 4 (= B.c. 477):

ήρχεν 'Αδείμαντος μέν 'Αθηναίοις δτ' ένίκα 'Αντιοχίς φυλή δαιδαλέον τρίποδα'

άμφὶ διδασκαλία δὲ Σιμωνίδη ἔσπετο κῦδος ὀγδωκονταέτει παιδί Λεωπρεπέος.

- ⁴³ See the story related by Chamaeleon in Athenaeus x c. 84 p. 456 c.
 - 44 Plat. Hipparch. p. 223 c, Aelian var. hist. viii 2.
 - 45 Arist. Vesp. 1410 with Schol.
 - 46 Epigr. 131 = 187 Schneidewin.
 - η μέγ' 'Αθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ' ήνίκ' 'Αριστογείτων "Ιππαρχον κτείνε καί 'Αρμόδιος.

poet's $\theta\rho\hat{\eta}\nu o\iota$, and the $\ell\pi\nu\nu'\kappa\iota\alpha^{47}$ in which he sang of the prizes won by their horses in the sacred games ⁴⁸. Of these epinikian odes that on the victory of Skopas with the four-horse chariot is best known by the commentary on a fragment of it in the *Protagoras* of Plato ⁴⁹. There are also extant fragments of

⁴⁷ i.e. songs performed at a feast in honour of a victor in public and sacred games, either on the scene of the conflict or upon his return home. 'The most striking occasion' says Mr J. A. Symonds (Studies in the Greek poets Vol. r p. 128 ed. 2) 'must have been the commemoration of a victory in the Temple of Zeus at Altis in the Olympian plain by moonlight.'

⁴⁸ Theokritus *Idyll*. xvi l. 36 ff., speaking of the value of song and of the wealth of the Aleuadae and Skopadae, says of them:—

άμναστοι δέ, τὰ πολλά καὶ ὅλβια τῆνα λιπόντες, δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο, εἰ μὴ δεινὸς ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήϊος, αἰόλα φωνέων βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον, ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοὺς ὁπλοτέροις τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀκέες ἔλλαχον ἴπποι, οἴ σφιν ἐξ ἰερῶν στεφανηφόροι ῆνθον ἀγώνων.

'and for long ages they had lain nameless among the forlorn dead, leaving behind them all that store of wealth, had not the skilled minstrel of Ceos with subtle song to the accompaniment of a stringed lyre made them famous among later generations: and their swift racers also, who came back to them from the sacred contests crowned with victory, had a share in their meed of praise.'

⁴⁹ p. 339 r. In this ode the saying of Pittakos 'it is difficult to be good,' which was censured as requiring too much, was probably applied for the purpose of extenuating some faults in his patron's character. 'With Ionian facility and courtly compliment' says Mr Symonds l.c. 'he made excuses for a bad man by pleading that perfect goodness was unattainable.'

the dirges $(\theta\rho\hat{\eta}\nu\omega)$ on the hapless Skopad on the Aleuad Antiochus, son of Echekratides: and doubtless the exquisite lyric piece containing the Lament of Danae 1 was part of a $\theta\rho\hat{\eta}\nu\omega$ composed for one of the Aleuadae. But the rough nature of the Thessalians was not to be softened by the charms of his poetry or at least to be covered with a varnish of civilization, for he says himself of them $d\mu a\theta \delta \omega \tau \epsilon \rho \omega$ $\delta \omega \nu \nu \omega \nu \omega \nu \omega$ $\delta \omega \nu \nu \omega \nu \omega \nu \omega$. That these families were not always equally liberal to their poet, appears from the anecdote recording the most dramatic incident in his life 3. According to the story Skopas

⁶⁰ fr. xlvi ed. Schneidewin:

άνθρωπος εων μή ποτε είπης δ τι γίνεται αδριον, μηδ' άνδρα ίδων δλβιον, δσσον χρόνον έσσεται· ωκεία γάρ, οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μυίας οῦτως à μετάστασις;

i.e. 'mortal that you are, never talk of what is to happen tomorrow, nor when you see a man prosperous, (say) how long he will last; for swift is the change, not so swift is the movement of a winged fly from place to place.'

⁵¹ Prof. Jebb thinks on the contrary that it was a piece complete in itself, not a gem adorning a larger piece on another subject. See his admirable Essay on Pindar in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. III p. 164.

52 Plutarch de aud. poet. p. 15 c.

58 Cic. de oratore 11 86, 352 f. Cf. Quintilian Inst. orat.
x1 2, 11; Valer. Max. 1 8 ext. 7, Phaedr. Fab. 1v 25, Ovid Ib.
51 f. (ed. R. Ellis),

lapsuramque domum subeas, ut sanguis Aleuae, stella Leoprepidae cum fuit aequa viro.

Callimach. fr. 64 (ed. Meineke) where Simonides is made to say:

οὐδ' ὑμέας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, οἴ με μελάθρου μέλλοντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἔθεσθέ ποτε once refused him more than half the promised reward and referred him for the other half to the Dioskuri, whom he had also praised in his ode; and, in consequence, the Dioskuri saved Simonides when the building fell and buried Skopas in its ruins.

But the high reputation of Simonides among the Hellenes is chiefly apparent at the time of the Persian war, when he was resident at Athens. He was infriendly intercourse with Themistokles³⁴ and the Spartan general Pausanias, and he became the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the great deeds and heroes of that period. The poems which he wrote for this purpose were for the most part epigraphs; but some were lyrical compositions, like the panegyric of those who had fallen at Thermopylae and the odes on the sea-fights at Artemision and Salamis. Others were elegiacs, as the elegy⁵⁵ in honour of the warriors who fell at Marathon (B.C. 490), for which he is stated to have carried off the prize from Aeschylus himself, the Athenians having instituted

δαιτυμόνων άπο μοῦνον, ὅτε Κραννώνιος αἰαῖ ὥλισθεν μεγάλους οἶκος ἐπὶ Σκοπάδας.

Schneidewin infers from a quotation from Phanias of Eresos by Athenaeus x p. 438 E, who placed the death of Skopas under the head of Destruction of Tyrants through revenge, that the tyrant's death was really plotted by the people and that timely notice was given to Simonides, on account of his sacred character as a poet, of the intended undermining of the building in which Skopas was about to celebrate his victory. 'The story' observes Mr Symonds 'perhaps belongs to the same class as the cranes of lbykus and the dolphin of Arion.'

⁵⁴ Plutarch Them. v 4.

⁵⁵ Grammaticus in vita Aeschyli p. xiv Dindorf.

a contest of the chief poets. Ten years later, in B.C. 479, he composed the epigram (ἐπικήδειον) inscribed on the tomb of the Spartan heroes of Thermopylae⁵⁶ and the celebrated ἐγκώμιον on the same⁵⁷,

56 Herod. vii 228:

δ ξείν', άγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῷδε κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis, dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur,

as it is translated by Cicero Tusc. 1 42, 101.

57 Diod. Sic. xi 11: οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν συγγραφεῖς μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν καθύμνησαν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ὧν γέγονε καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ μελοποιός, ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ποιήσας ἐγκώμιον, ἐν ὧ λέγει.

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανίντων εὐκλεἢς μὲν ἀ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος. ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρὼς οὐθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρύνος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν. ὁ δὲ σακὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν Ἑλλάδος είλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπὼς κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

i.e. 'of those who died at Thermopylae glorious is the fate and fair the doom; their grave is an altar; instead of lamentation, they have endless fame; their dirge is a chant of praise. Such winding-sheet as theirs no rust, no nor all-conquering time, shall bring to nought, brave men that they were. But their sepulchre took for its habitant the glory of Hellas. Leonidas is witness thereof, Sparta's king, who hath left a mighty crown of valour and undying fame.'

If we analyse this fragment, what strikes us is the masterly skill and grace with which the poet plays with a single thought; and the skill with which the antitheses are wrought; the glory of the heroes' fate, then with a boldness of thought succeeding and, on account of the high consideration in which he was held both at Athens and in Peloponnesos is, he was frequently employed by the states which fought against the Persians to adorn with inscriptions ($i\pi\iota\gamma\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau a$) the tombs of their warriors, who had fallen in the War of Liberation.

Though inferior as a poet to his contemporary, the other great master of universal melic, in profundity and novelty of ideas, in fervour of feeling and in that δύναμις ἀμφιλαφής ⁵⁹, 'breadth of view and power of grasp,' which was at once Pindar's aspiration and characteristic, he nevertheless was decidedly better known and more admired in his day ⁶⁰ than the poet who so completely eclipsed him in the judgment of posterity. Yet we cannot help agreeing with Prof. Mahaffy when he says that 'the exquisite beauty,

what is commonplace, their grave is an altar. 'We do not lament for them so much as hold them in eternal memory: our very songs of sorrow become paeans of praise. Rust and time cannot affect their fame; Hellas confides her glory to their tomb. Then generalities are quitted; and Leonidas, the protagonist of Thermopylae, appears.' J. A. Symonds l. c. p. 161.

ss 'The practical tendency of his poetry, the worldly wisdom, guided by a noble disposition, which appeared in it, and the delicacy with which he treated all the relations of states and rulers, made him the friend of the most powerful and distinguished men of his age. In fact scarcely any poet of antiquity enjoyed so much consideration in his life-time or exercised so much influence upon political events, as Simonides.' K. O. Müller's Hist. Greek Lit. tr. by Lewis and Donaldson Vol. 1 p. 276.

⁵⁹ Ol. 1x 88.

⁶⁰ Cf. Jebb l.c. p. 166, Mahaffy Hist. of Gr. Lit. Vol. 1 p. 206 ed. 1.

the pellucid clearness, and the deep but chastened pathos of his fragments make us wish to exchange a few of Pindar's more laboured odes for the masterpieces of his rival⁵¹.'

Simonides was probably the most prolific poet whom Greece had seen, although so little of his poetry has come down to us. He gained (according to the inscription of a votive tablet, written by himself on his departure for Sicily) 62 no less than fifty-six oxen and tripods in poetical contests at public festivals.

Of the several classes of poems which he composed for public festivals the greater part relate directly to the worship of the various gods. These were dithyrambs or choral songs, chiefly but not always dedicated to Dionysos s, chants (ῦμνοι) and prayers (κατευχαί) sung by a chorus standing before an altar, paeans (παιᾶνες) to Phoebus in his double character of a victorious and a healing god, the accompaniment of the battle and the feast; processional hymns (προσόδια) sung at solemn festivals by troops of men and maidens walking to the shrines, crowned with olive, myrtle, bay or oleander, a special kind of which were παρθένια s, called daphnephoria when

⁶¹ l. c. p. 208.

⁶² Anthol. Palat. vi 213, fr. 202 ed. Schn.

ξξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ήραο ταύρους καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα τοσσάκι δ' ἰμερόεντα διδαξάμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

⁶⁸ Müller l. c. p. 278.

⁶⁴ There is a beautiful example of antiphonal parthenia at the end of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, where choruses of

addressed to Phoebus, because the maidens carried laurel branches to his shrine; songs to lively dancing performed by choruses of boys or of boys and young maidens, which were originally confined to the worship of Apollo $(\dot{\nu}\pi\rho\chi\dot{\gamma}\mu\alpha\tau a)$. 'In these last' says Müller⁶⁵ 'Simonides seems to have excelled himself; so great a master was he of the art of

Athenian and Spartan girls sing in rivalry turn and turn about.

65 l.c. on the authority of Plutarch Mor. p. 748 a, b: δρχηστική δὲ καὶ ποιητική κοινωνία πάσα καὶ μέθεξις άλληλων ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα μιμούμεναι περὶ τὸ ὑπορχημάτων γένος ἔνεργον ἀμφότεραι τὴν διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῶν δνομάτων μίμησιν ἀποτελοῦσι. . . . δηλοῦ δὲ ὁ μάλιστα κατωρθωκέναι δόξας ἐν ὑπορχήμασι, καὶ γεγονέναι πιθανώτατος ἐαυτοῦ, τὸ δεῖσθαι τὴν ἐτέραν τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ γὰρ

άπέλαστον Ίππον ἢ κύν' 'Αμυκλαίαν άγωνιῶν έλελιζόμενος ποδί μίμεο καμπύλον μέλος διώκων'

(i.e. 'celerem equum aut canem Amyclaeam clamore laeto imitare, pedum levitate vias persequens varias modorum), $\hat{\eta}$ $\tau \hat{o}$

οδος άνὰ Δώτιον άνθέμος» πεδίον πέταται θάνατον κεράα εὐρέμεν ματεύων ἐλάφω τὰν δ' ἔλ' αὐχένι στρέφοισαν σφέτερον κάρα πάντ' ἐς οἶμον,

και τὰ ἐξῆς — μηδένα λέληθεν τὴν ἐν ὀρχήσει διάθεσιν τὰ ποιήματα παρακαλεῖν και τὰ χεῖρε και τὰ πόδε, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλον ισπερ
τισι μηρίνθοις ἔλκειν τὸ σῶμα τοῖς μέλεσι και ἐντείνειν, τούτων δὴ
λεγομένων και ἀδομένων, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένοις αὐτὸς
γοῦν ἐαυτὸν οὐκ αισχύνεται περί τὴν ὅρχησιν οὐχ ἦττον
ἡ τὴν ποίησιν ἐγκωμιάζων.

όπα δὲ γαρῦσαι σύν τ' ἐλαφρὸν δρχημ' οΐδα ποδῶν μιγνύμεν· Κρῆτα δέ μιν καλέοισι τρόπον, τὸ δ' δργανον Μολοσσόν. painting by apt rhythms and words the acts which he wished to describe.' Of the poems which Simonides composed for private persons, the odes of Victory (ἐπινίκια) 66 and laments (θρηνοι) are among the best specimens of his art. The former belong, like those of Pindar, to the age when sculpture was finding a new field in the commemoration of victorious combatants, who were then raised to such an eminent rank, as to be almost on a level with demigods (ἡμίθεοι) in respect to the honours paid to them. 'They appear to have been distinguished from those of Pindar mainly in this: that the former dwelt upon the particular victory which gave occasion to his song and described all its details with greater minuteness; while Pindar passes lightly over the incident and immediately soars into higher regions. Simonides too more frequently indulged in pleasantry than befitted a poem destined to be recited at a sacred feast 67.

What Simonides possesses quite peculiar to his own genius is tenderness of feeling and pathos 68, and

Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis Ceae retractes munera na eniae.

Quintilian inst. orat. x 1, 64: Simonides, tenuis alioqui, sermone proprio et iucunditate quadam commendari potest: praecipua tamen eius in commovenda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferant.

⁶⁶ See note 47. 4

⁶⁷ Müller l.c. p. 279.

⁶⁸ Dionys. Halicarn. vett. script. iud. π 6 p. 420 ed. Reiske τὸ οἰκτίζεσθαι μἡ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὡς Πίνδαρος ἀλλὰ παθητικῶς. Cf. Catullus xxxvπ 8 maestius lacrimis Simonideis, and Horace Od. π 1, 37

this is seen most remarkably in his dirges (θοῦνοι) or choral hymns sung at funeral solemnities (of which we have one exquisitely beautiful fragment already spoken of) on, in which the poet surrenders himself to the genuine feelings of human nature, expressing grief for the dead and the fond regret of the survivors and resignation to inevitable evils, and seeking consolation in the shortness and toils of human life and the instability of fortune with the tone usual to the Ionic elegy. The style of Simonides is pure and graceful, smooth and highly polished —hence the ancients called him Melikertes 70. In his choice of words⁷¹, he departs less from the language of ordinary life than Pindar, whose majesty, force and gorgeous exuberance of poetical ideas form a contrast to the exquisite finish and skill with which Simonides works out in detail one or two images, producing with a few graphic touches a

e p. xxix.

⁷⁰ Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. 1410, Suidas s.v. Σιμωνίδηs. Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. I 22 suavis poeta Simopides, Epigr. on the nine lyrists (Anthol. Pal. IX 571)

ξκλαγεν έκ θηβών μέγα Πίνδαρος ξπνες τερπνά ήδυμελιφθόγγου Μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω.

⁷¹ Dionys. Halic. II 6 Σιμωνίδου παρατήρει τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὁνομάτων, τῆς συνθέσεως τὴν ἀκρίβειαν: elsewhere he is reckoned by him among the poets who excelled τῷ τῆς γλαφυρᾶς καὶ ἀνθηρᾶς συνθέσεως χαρακτῆρι: cf. de comp. verb. p. 342 ed. Schaefer.

Simonides' compositions, to judge from the waifs and strays we have left, justify the definition which he himself is said by Plutarch to have given of poetry as ζωγραφία λαλοῦσα: see the tract de gloria Atheniensium p. 346 r, quoted by F. G. Schneidewin l.c. p. xliv.

perfectly harmonious whole. The spirit of σωφροσύνη 'reserve' or 'tempered self-restraint,' and absence of enthusiasm for which the Ionians of Keos were noted?, 'a modest consciousness of human weakness and recognition of a superior power are everywhere traceable in his poetry?,' and give it a mellow tone as they do to his philosophy also and moral precepts. It was this same trait in his character which made the younger generation of Athenians, typified by Pheidippidês in the Clouds of Aristophanes?, despise him as old-fashioned, whereas with their ancestors, the heroes of Marathon (μαραθωνόμαχαι), he was an object of worship.

The system of patronage under which he lived seems to have destroyed the independence of his character, and in this respect he contrasts unfavourably with Pindar, whose great desire was to raise his art above the reproach of sordid servility from which Simonides was not exempt, as appears from

78 Aristides περί παραφθέγμ. 111 p. 645 A: τήν γε τοῦ Σιμωνίδου σωφροσύνην οἰσθα· εί δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἔτεροι ἴσασιν, ὡς ἔν τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τὸ γνωριμώτατον σχεδὸν καὶ περί τὴν ποίησιν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βίον, quoted by Schneidewin l.c. p. xxiii. Cf. Plat. Protag. p. 341 z with Stallbaum's note.

 73 See e.g. Encomium fr. 10, 6 ănavra γ áp ẻστι θε $\hat{\omega}$ ν ήσσω, Epinic. fr. 33

ούτις άνευ θεών

άρετὰν λάβεν, οὐ πόλις, οὐ βροτός: Θεὸς ὁ παμμῆτις: ἀπήμαντον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς,

and the rebuke which he administered to Pausanias (Plutarch Cons. ad Apoll. p. 105 A) for his ὑπερηφανία by reminding him δτι Δυθρωπός ἐστι.

⁷⁴ v. 1855. H. I.

allusions in the contemporary poet⁷⁸ and from various anecdotes⁷⁶ recorded of him. The wise and philosophic discourses of Simonides at the court of his patron at Syracuse have been made the subject of an allusion in Plato⁷⁷, as some of his gnomic sayings are discussed in the dialogues, e.g. the

⁷⁵ See Prof. Jebb l.c. p. 159, who refers to 1sthm. II 1—11, Pyth. III 54, Schneidewin l.c. p. xxiv—xxxii.

76 e.g. the story in Aristotle's Rhetoric (III 2, 14) that he was once asked to write an έπινίκιον by a victor in the mulerace, when, being offended with the smallness of the fee offered, he declined to compose an ode on ἡμίονοι 'half-asses.' But when the terms were raised, he wrote at once χαίρετ', δελλοπόδων θύγατρες Ιππων, 'hurrah for the daughters of the stormfooted mares!' and yet, adds Aristotle καὶ τῶν ὅνων θυγατέρες ἡσαν, 'they were daughters of the asses as well.' Again in II 16, 2 his mot on the comparative advantages of money and wisdom in answer to Hieron's wife is quoted: γενέσθαι κρεῖττον πλούσιον' τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὀρᾶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας. His greed of gain is also alluded to by Aristophanes in the Peace v. 697 ff., Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. II δ νῦν, φησί, μαθοῦ συντάττουσι τοὺς ἐπινικίους πρώτου Σιμωνίδου προκαταρξαμένου' ἔνθεν καὶ Καλλίμαχος.

οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ Κεῖος Ἑλλίχου νέπους,

λέγει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Σιμωνίδην, ὡς φιλάργυρον διασύρων τὸν ἄνδρα, Chamaeleon ap. Athenae. xiv c 72 p. 656 d δντως δὲ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς κίμβιξ ὁ Σιμωνίδης και αισχροκέρδης, Phaedr. fab. iv 23. Socrates in Plato (Protag. p. 346 b) says that Simonides was often induced to write encomiums on tyrants and other powerful men without being convinced of the justice of his praises, as in the case of Skopas, son of Kreon, referred to above p. xxix.

77 Epist. II περί 'Ιέρωνος όταν διαλέγωνται οι άνθρωποι καὶ Παυσανίου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου, χαίρουσι τὴν Σιμωνίδου ξυνουσίαν παραφέροντες ἄ τε έπραξε καὶ εἶπε πρός αὐτούς.

Protagoras p. 339 B, and the Republ. I p. 331 E. The celebrated evasion of the question on the nature of God, implying that our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, is ascribed by Cicero to Simonides as a reply to Hieron⁷⁸.

3. On the τυραννίς,—its origin, different forms and place in the political development of Greece

The word τύραννος originally meant nothing more than 'ruler' and had no invidious secondary meaning associated with it ⁷⁹. Βαςιλεγ΄ς ⁸⁰ for a 'tyrant' and τγραννος ⁸¹, as applied to the kings of the early age, were still employed promiscuously after the full de-

rs de nat. deor. 1 § 60: roges me quid aut quale sit deus, auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quaesivisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi sibi unum diem postulavit; cum idem ex eo postridie quaereret, biduum petivit; cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum, admiransque Hiero requireret cur ita faceret, 'Quia, quanto diutius considero,' inquit 'tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.' Cf. Minuc. Fel. Octav. c. 13.

79 Wachsmuth Hist. Antiq. of the Greeks Eng. Tr. Vol. 1 p. 414: the word τυραννίς occurs first in Archikochus ap. Plutarch. Mor. p. 470 c where he is speaking of Gygês the Lydian prince.

30 e.g. in Herod. III 52, v 44 where the term is applied to Telys, v 110 to the tyrants of Kypros, v 23 to Skythês tyrant of Zanklê. Kypselos is spoken of in an oracular response as βασιλεὐτ κλεινοῖο Κορίνθου, v 92, 5, and immediately afterwards Herodotus calls his government a τυραννίς. Thucydides I 13 contrasts τυραννίδες with limited hereditary monarchies (ἐπὶ μητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαί βασιλεῖαι).

81 Herod. 1 7 ήν Κανδαύλης τύραννος Σαρδέων, VIII 187.

velopment of democracy. The distinction between the latter as something worthy of universal reprobation ⁸² and the former as an object worthy of love and affection was an immediate outcome of a deviation from paternal government on the part of the tyranny and its adoption of a system of cruelty and unnatural oppression.

The ancient TYPANNÍC must be regarded as a singular feature of ancient society and one of the chief links in the development of political phaenomena in the history of the Hellenic states. It was origin of the not an immediate continuation of, or a degeneration from, the princely power of the early age, since republican institutions in fact formed the link by which it was connected with the ancient kingship. It began in demagogy in this way:—

In most of the Hellenic states from the seventeenth century till the middle of the fifth B.C. the

82 Cp. Polyb. II c. 59 where it is said of Aristomachos of Argos: οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν ἢ πικροτέραν οὐδ' ἀν εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως δύναιτ' ἀν οὐδείς: αὐτὸ γὰρ το ὕνο μα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἔμφασιν καὶ πάσας περιείληφε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας, Ευτ. Suppl. 429

ούδὲν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πόλει, ὅπου τὸ μὲν πρώτιστον οὐκ εἰσὶν νόμοι κοινοί, κρατεῖ δ' εἶs, τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῷ.

88 Cornelius Nepos Milt. c. 8, 3: omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est.

oligarchical factions that had overthrown and succeeded the kingly authority had in their turn been conquered, and this double revolution was sufficient evidence that the principles of durable government were wanting. There were neither traditions nor laws strong enough to restrain men⁸⁴. Everything was decided by force. Bold and energetic men put themselves at the head of the people, and the first demagogues were soldiers⁸⁵. After having flattered the Commons and acted as their champions against

84 Aristot. Pol. VIII (v) c. 10, p. 1316b, 7: ὑπάρχει δ' ἡ γένησις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων ἐκατέρα τῶν μοναρχιῶν (sc. kingship and tyranny). ή μέν γάρ βασιλεία πρός βοήθειαν την έπι τον δημον τοις επιεικέσι γέγονεν, και καθίσταται βασιλεύς έκ των επιεικών καθ' ύπεροχήν άρετης η πράξεων των άπο της άρετης η καθ' ύπερογήν τοιούτου γένους, ο δε τύραννος έκ τοῦ δήμου και τοῦ πλήθους έπι τούς γνωρίμους, όπως ὁ δήμος άδικήται μηδέν ὑπ' αὐτῶν i.e. 'the origin to begin with of each of these two forms of monarchical government is different. Kingship is instituted for the protection of the better classes against the commons, and a king is appointed from among the members of the better classes on the ground of his own superiority in virtue or virtuous actions or the superiority of a virtuous race, whereas the tyrant (is taken) from the commons, i.e. the mass, to act against the notables, to save the commons from oppression by them,'

** Aristot. ib. l. 14: σχεδόν οι πλείστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγύνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. Cf. c. 5 p. 1305*, 7: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον σχεδόν γὰρ οι πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασων i.e. 'in ancient times, whenever the functions of demagogue and general were combined in the same person, (democracies) were changed into a tyranny: for in almost all cases the ancient tyrants had once been demagogues.'

the oligarchs⁸⁶, these chieftains made them their slaves. The outcome was the same in almost all towns. A single adventurer usurped the sovereign power and ruled arbitrarily. The safety and welfare of his fellow-citizens depended solely upon his personal proclivities. 'Some tyrannies' says Aristotle⁸⁷ 'were established in this manner, after the States had attained considerable dimensions, others at an earlier period originated with ambitious kings outstepping their hereditary rights or else holders of some supreme office in free States who converted their lawful prerogatives into tyranny⁸⁸. In all such cases their

⁸⁶ Aristot. ib. v c. 5 p. 1305*, 20 οι προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ότε πολεμικοί γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο. πάντες δὶ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους i. e. 'the leaders of the people, whenever they were men of military genius, used to try to make themselves tyrants; and they did so in all cases because they possessed the confidence of the commons, and the ground of their confidence was their hatred of the wealthy classes.'

⁸⁷ ib, c. 10 p. 1310b, 16.

⁸⁸ Aristot. ib. c. 8 p. 1308a, 19: οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον κακουργήσαι ὁλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας και πολύν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις και δημοκρατίαις γίνονται τυραννίδες: ἢ γὰρ οἱ μέγιστοι ἐν ἐκατέρα ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίδι, ἔνθα μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἔνθα δ' οἱ δυνάσται, ἢ οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἄρχοντες ἀρχάς, ὅταν πολύν χρόνον ἄρχωσιν i.e. 'abuse of power is not so easy on the part of State officers, where the tenure of office is short, as where it is long, for it is the long tenure which in oligarchies and democracies is a cause of the establishment of Tyrannies. For it is either the most powerful in the two polities, who attempt to seize tyrannical power, viz. the Demagogues in the one, the Dynasts in the other, or else those who hold the highest official positions, whenever their tenure is a long one.'

object was easily effected, as their kingly authority or official position already gave them the power if they had but the will.' Aristotle gives as examples of tyrants of the first kind Panaetius at Leontini, Kypselus at Corinth, Peisistratus at Athens, Dionysius at Syracuse and others; of the second Pheidon at Argos; of the third the Ionian tyrants and Phalaris of Agrigentum.

The beginnings of tyranny were not attended with difficulty. The people in their hostility to the rich and powerful supported the usurper, and applauded their spoliation and proscription. But little by little distrust of their new master began to spread among the commons. Meetings and reunions became objects of suspicion to the tyrant, who preferred that the citizens should remain unknown to one another, since isolation and silence rendered them more easy to govern.

In speaking of the vices of Tyranny the same philosopher says that it combines in itself the worst features of extreme democracy tyranny. and extreme oligarchy: from the first it borrows its hostility to the citizens of position (τοῖς γνωρίμοις), whom it regards as rivals and obstacles to the tyrant's authority and so puts them to death both secretly and openly and banishes them from the State; from the second, the pursuit of wealth as the chief end (as enabling the possessor to maintain his body-guard and to gratify his luxurious lusts) and its distrust of the masses (which leads to a general disarmament and oppression of the common people). Periander

⁸⁹ ib. VIII (v) p. 1311*, 8 στι δ' ή τυραννίς έχει κακά καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς δλιγαρχίας, φανερόν έκ μὲν όλι-

of Corinth was credited with being the author of the demoralising policy traditionally recommended to tyrants. The tyrant was to get rid of prominent characters, to prohibit common meals, clubs and intellectual gatherings, all free social intercourse for relaxation and discussion (which was everything to a Greek community), to discourage education and all that tends to develop high spirit and self-confidence, to do all in his power to prevent his subjects from coming to know or trust each other, and to keep them in a perpetual state of slavery. Other objectionable expedients for securing the continuance of tyranny are to employ spies and eaves-droppers. to promote disunion and sow distrust between individuals, to set class against class, to impoverish his

γαρχίας το το τέλος είναι πλοῦτον (ούτω γὰρ καὶ διαμένειν ἀναγκαῖον μόνως τήν τε φυλακήν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεύειν (διο καὶ τὴν παραίρεσιν ποιοῦνται τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τὸ κακοῦν τὸν ὅχλον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπελαύνειν καὶ διοικίζειν ἀμφοτέρων κοινόν, καὶ τῆς δλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος), ἐκ δημοκρατίας δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ διαφθείρεων λάθρα καὶ φανερῶς καὶ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμποδίους. Cf. Hier. II 17, v 1, 2.

90 ib. p. 1313°, 36 τούτων (of the modes in which tyrannies are preserved) τὰ πολλά φασι καταστήσαι Περιανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον ἔστι δὲ τά τε πάλαι λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὡς οδόν τε, τῆς τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολούειν καὶ τοὺς φρονηματίας ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ μήτε συσσίτια ἐᾶν μήτε ἐταιρίαν μήτε παιδείαν μήτε άλλο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντα φυλάττειν δθεν εἴωθε γενέσθαι δύο, φρόνημά τε καὶ πίστις, καὶ μήτε σχολὰς μήτε ἄλλους συλλόγους ἐπιτρέπειν γίνεσθαι σχολαστικούς, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξῶν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγνῶτες ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται πάντες (ἡ γὰρ γνῶσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους).

⁹¹ See above note 23.

subjects for the support of a body-guard and by costly works (such as the pyramids, the votive offerings of the Kypselidae, the great Olympieion of the Peisistratids and the works of Polykrates at Samos), to be always at war that his subjects may be in continual need of a leader and be kept in constant employment. Heavy taxation was also employed by tyrants, as by Dionysius, who made the Syracusans pay in taxes in five years the full amount of their property. Again the tyrant will be fond of low people. Again the tyrant will be fond of low people to him and serve as puppets for carrying out his purposes; he will discountenance high-minded and independent characters.

93 Aristot. ib. p. 13136, 16 και τὸ διαβάλλειν ἀλλήλοις και συγκρούειν και φίλους φίλοις και τὸν δημον τοῖς γνωρίμοις (optimatibus)
και τοὺς πλουσίους ἐαυτοῖς. και τὸ πένητας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους
τυραννικών, ὅπως μήτε φυλακή τρέφηται και πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν
δητες ἄσχολοι ὦσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν.

⁹³ Plato de rep. viit p. 566 b, p. 567 λ οὐκοῦν καὶ ἴνα χρήματα εἰσφέροντες, πένητες γιγνόμενοι, πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκάζωνται εἶναι καὶ ἦττον αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύωσι; i.e. 'is it not (the tyrant's object) to impoverish his citizens by war-taxes, so that they may be forced to labour for their daily bread and so be less likely to plot against himself?' Arist. l. c. p. 1313b, 28 ἔστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως δὴ ἀσχολοί τε ῶσι καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐν χρεἰᾳ διατελῶσιν ὅντες.

94 Aristot. ib. p. 1314, 1 πονηρόφιλον ή τυραννίς κολακευόμενοι γάρ χαίρουσιν, τοῦτο δ' οὐδείς αν ποιήσειε φρόνημα ἔχων ἐλεύθερον, άλλά φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἢ οὐ κολακεύουσιν.

⁹⁵ Aristot, ib. 1814°, 5 καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ χαίρειν σεμνῷ μηδ' ελευθέρῳ τυραννικόν. Cf. Plat. l.c. p. 567 n: ὑπεξαιρεῖν δὴ τούτους πάντας δεῖ τὸν τύραννον, εἰ μέλλει ἄρξειν, ἔως ἄν μήτε φίλων μήτ' ἐχθρῶν λίπη μηδένα, ὅτου τι ὅφελος...ὁξέως δὲ δεῖ ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, τίς ἀνδρεῖος, τίς μεγαλόφρων, τίς φρόνιμος, τίς πλούσιος...τούτοις ἄπασιν ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ, εἶτε βούλεται εἶτε μή, πολεμίω εἶναι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔως ἄν

he will choose foreigners rather than citizens as his daily associates. In short, the three objects of a tyrant are to sew distrust among the citizens, to incapacitate them for action and to destroy their self-respect. The evil effects of a tyranny administered on such principles as these which, though not ineffective

καθήρη τὴν πόλιν i.e. 'if a tyrant is to keep up his authority, he must put all these people quietly out of the way, until he has left himself not a friend nor an enemy who is worth anything ...he must keenly notice who is manly, who high-minded, who prudent, who wealthy...whether he wishes it or not, he is compelled to be the enemy of all these and to plot against them. till he has cleared the city of them.'

These passages afford an excellent illustration of Hieron's remarks in this Dialogue ch. v § 1 f.

86 Aristot. ib. c. 10 p. 1314. 10 καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι συσσίτοις καὶ συνημερευταῖς ξενικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτικοῖς τυραννικόν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἀντιποιουμένους.

97 ib. 27 πάντα γὰρ ᾶν ἀναγάγοι τις τὰ τυραννικὰ πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις, τὰ μὲν ὅπως μὴ πιστεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δ' ὅπως μη δύνωνται, τὰ δ' ὅπως μικρὸν φρονῶσιν i.e. 'for all the measures of a tyranny may be referred to one or other of these fundamental principles, viz. to prevent mutual confidence among the citizens, to incapacitate them for action and to degrade their spirit.' Cf. ib. 15 στοχάζεται γάρ ή τυραννίς τριών, ένδς μέν τοῦ μικρά Φρονείν τούς άρχομένους (ούδεν) γάρ αν μικρόψυγος έπι-Βουλεύσειεν), δευτέρου δε τοῦ διαπιστείν αλλήλοις (οὐ καταλύεται γάρ πρότερον τυραννίς πρίν ή πιστεύσωσί τινες έαυτοίς. διό καλ τοίς επιεικέσι πολεμούσιν ώς βλαβεροίς πρός την άρχην ου μόνον διά τὸ μη άξιοῦν ἄρχεσθαι δεσποτικώς, άλλα και διά τὸ πιστούς και έαυτοις και τοις άλλοις είναι και μή καταγορεύειν μήτε έαυτών μήτε των άλλων). τρίτον δ' άδυναμία των πραγμάτων. (οὐθείς γάρ έπιχειρεί τοις άδυνάτοις, ώστε οὐδὲ τυραννίδα καταλύειν μή διωάμεως ύπαργούσης).

for their purpose. Aristotle condemns as immoral 98, must have been felt by rich and cultivated classes even more than by the poor, for to them it was deprivation of all that was best in Hellenic life 90. The philosopher suggests less objection-Conciliatory measures suggested by Aristotle, able means for securing its continuance. He recommends the tyrant, if he wishes to safeguard his tyranny, to approximate it to a kingship 100. He advises him to rule as the publicspirited and thrifty steward of the State, not, as a tyrant, wasting the public treasure, so as to excite the indignation of his subjects at seeing the money wrested from their work and thrifty labour lavished on mistresses, foreigners and artists, but giving account of all receipts and expenses 101. He should endeavour to inspire reverence rather than fear in his subjects 100 and, even if he disregards all other virtues, he should at least not disregard political

³⁸ ib. 12 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννικά μέν καὶ σωτήρια τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας.

⁹⁰ Newman, Aristotle's Politics Vol. 1 p. 546.

¹⁰⁰ Aristot. L.c. p. 1314*, 34 τῆς τυραννίδος σωτηρία ποιείν αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀρχήν) βασιλικωτέραν.

¹⁰¹ ib. 40 δοκεῖν φροντίζειν τῶν κοινῶν, μήτε δαπανῶντα <εls>δωρεὰς τοιαὐτας ἐφ' als τὰ πλήθη χαλεπαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν λαμβάνωσιν ἐργαζομένων καὶ πονούντων γλισχρῶς, διδῶσι δ' ἐταίραις καὶ ξένοις καὶ τεχνίταις ἀφθόνως, λύγον τε ἀποδιδόντα τῶν λαμβανομένων καὶ δαπανωμένων (οῦτως γὰρ ἄν τις διοικῶν οἰκονόμος ἀλλ' οὐ τύραννος εἶναι δόξειεν). Cf. ib. p. 1314^b, 16 δλως τε αὐτὸν <δεῖ> παρασκευάζειν φύλακα καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἰδίων; ib. 37 κατασκευάζειν γὰρ δεῖ καὶ κοσμεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπίτροπον ὅντα καὶ μὴ τύραννον. Cf. Hier. VIII 9.

^{16. 18} φαίνεσθαι μή χαλεπόν άλλά σεμνόν, έτι δέ τοιούτον ώστε μή φοβείσθαι τοὺς έντυγχάνοντας άλλά μάλλον αίδείσθαι.

virtue 108: he should be moderate in his sensual indulgences and not parade them before the public 104: he should be particular in his religious observances 105. without appearing superstitious. He should dispense his honours personally, but his punishments should be inflicted by the agency of others 106, in a paternal spirit rather than with haughty indifference 107. short, his object should be to appear in the eyes of his subjects as a householder or king, not as a tyrant. as a guardian of the public interests and not a selfseeker, to cultivate moderation and avoid all extravagance; to win the favour of the populace by flattery, that of the upper classes by affability, so that his subjects may be morally elevated instead of being degraded, and that he may be himself not an object of hatred or fear, and his power more secure and lasting 108.

103 ib. 21 διό δεῖ κἄν μὴ τῶν ἄλλων άρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς. (Susemihl, however, adopts Madvig's reading πολεμικῆς.)

104 ib. 32 μάλιστα μέν μετριάζειν τοις τοιούτοις (80. ταις απολαύσεσι ταις σωματικαις), εί δὲ μή, τό γε φαίνεσθαι τοις άλλοις διαφεύγειν.

105 ib. 38 ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως... δεῖ δὲ ἄνευ άβελτερίας φαίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον.

100 ib. p. 1815*, 6 τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις δι' ἐτέρων. Such is the advice given by Simonides to Hieron, ix 4.

107 ib. 21 τὰς μὲν κολάσεις πατρικώς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν.

108 ib. 41 δεί μὴ τυραννικόν άλλ' οίκονόμον και βασιλικόν είναι φαίνεσθαι τοίς άρχομένοις και μὴ σφετεριστὴν άλλ' ἐπίτροπον, και τὰς μετριότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμους καθομιλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς δημαγωγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ

The rule of tyrants being generally (though not always) violent and cruel was for that very reason of short duration. The longest, that of the Orthagoridae at Sikyon (in the 27th duration of tyranties.

Olympiad), lasted only a century; the next

most permanent was that of the Kypselidae at Corinth (about Ol. 31), which lasted between seventy and eighty years. The explanation of this is that they behaved with moderation to their subjects and submitted themselves in many cases to the laws 108, while Kypselus never even employed a body-guard 110. The third longest tyranny and the last of the Hellenic continent was that of the Pisistratidae at Athens, which lasted in all thirty-five years 111. With these exceptions that of Hieron and Gelon

τούτων άναγκαΐον οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν είναι καλλίω καὶ ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ τεταπεινωμένων μηδὲ μισούμενον καὶ φοβούμενον διατελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν είναι πολυχρονιωτέραν.

είσιν όλιγαρχία και τυραννίς πλεϊστον γάρ χρονον έγένετο ή περι Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ή τῶν 'Ορθαγόρου παίδων και αὐτοῦ 'Ορθαγόρου παίδων και αὐτοῦ 'Ορθαγόρου 'ἔτη δ' αῦτη διέμεινεν ἐκατόν. τούτου δὲ αῖτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως και πολλά τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον...δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ἡ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν και γάρ αῦτη διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία και ἐβδομήκοντα και μῆνας ἔξ...τὰ δ' αῖτια ταὐτὰ και ταύτης 'δ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγός ῆν και κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικός ἀλλά πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν 'Αθήνησιν. οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχής, τὰ δὲ πάντα ἔτη τριάκοντα και πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ < τῶν περὶ 'Ιέρωνα και Γέλωνα περι Συρακούσας. ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αῦτη πολλά διέμεινεν ἀλλά τὰ σύμπαντα δυεῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι.

110 Herodotus v 92, 8 does not agree with this statement.

¹¹¹ n.c. 560—510. Of the 33 years from 560 Pisistratos had been tyrant 17. at Syracuse was the longest, although it lasted only eighteen years. Besides the tyrants of Sikyon, Corinth and Athens, we find also recorded as tyrants of the earlier age, i.e. somewhere about the sixth century, Theagenes of Megara, Prokles of Epidaurus¹¹³, and at a later period tyrants arose in Ionia at the same time that Gyges began to reign in Lydia. The tyranny which subsisted in the Grecian States of Asia, after the commencement of the Persian domination was less the outcome of their own political system than a Persian satrapy. Tyrants of this description were Polykrates and his brother Syloson at Samos ¹¹³, Cadmus in Cos ¹¹⁴, Histiaeus and Aristagoras in Miletus ¹¹⁵, Lygdamis at Naxos ¹¹⁶ with others ¹¹⁷.

'In Sicily the tyranny had the most prosperous career; Syracuse in particular not only followed the example of the mother-city, Corinth, but even surpassed it, and that at a time when the last tyrant of the Grecian continent, Hippias of Athens, had been expelled, and popular freedom was advancing with rapid strides. The first of the list is Phalaris in Agrigentum B.C. 565—549; he was succeeded there by Alkamenes and Alkander, apparently rather alovyuvŷrai than tyrants; afterwards Therôn, who probably inherited from his father Aenesidêmus the tyranny of Leontini, where in an early age Panaetius

¹¹² Herod. 111 50.

¹¹⁸ Herod. III 39, 134-149.

¹¹⁴ ib. vn 164.

¹¹⁵ ib. rv 138, v 137.

¹¹⁶ ib. 1 61, 64.

¹¹⁷ See *Chron. Tables of Greek History* by C. Peter, Eng. tr. by G. Chawner, Cambridge, 1882, p. 18.

had been tyrant; but marching from Agrigentum he afterwards expelled the tyrant Texillos of Himera. the son-in-law of Anaxilas the Rhegian, and likewise reigned over Himera. His son Thrasydaeus was expelled (B.C. 473) by the Agrigentines. Pythagoras was tyrant of Selinus at the time the noble Dorieus came from Sparta to Sicily (B.C. 519); the companion of the latter, Euryleon, deposed Pythagoras and then reigned over Minoa (Herod, v 46) as well as Selinus. The civil dissensions in Gela ended with the tyranny of Kleander (B.C. 505); he was (B.C. 498) succeeded by his brave brother Hippokrates, who reduced Zankle (Herod. vi 23, 24), where Scythes, the father of Kadmos, the subsequent tyrant of Kos, had ruled before; he was followed by Gelon. Gelon transferred (B.C. 485) the tyranny to Syracuse, whither he brought back the expelled yauopot, and extended his authority far around, over Megara, Euboea etc. (Herod. vii 155, 156); after him governed Hieron and then Thrasybulos, his brothers. The latter of these was driven out by the people (B.C. 466). Lower Italy likewise had its tyrants: Anaxilas in Rhegium in B.C. 493; after him in B.C. 476 his noble-minded slave Smikythos, guardian of the children of Anaxilas, who were expelled soon after their accession to power: Kleinias in Krotôn; Telys in Sybaris, originally a demagogue hostile to the nobility, Nearchos or Demylos in Elea, B.C. 500; and in the Campanian Cuma, Aristodêmus or Malakus, who was contemporary with the younger Tarquin.' WACHSMUTH Historical Antiquities of the Greeks Vol. I p. 407 f. E. Tr.

The Spartans were especially active in expelling the tyrants and this policy was one of the causes which secured for them the hegemony of Greece "18".

¹¹⁸ Aristot. Pol. p. 1312^b, 7 Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείσται κατέλυσαν τυραννίδαι. Cf. Herod. v 92, Thuc. 1 18 who extols Sparta as the

deliverer of the Hellenic continent from tyrants. His testimony is strictly admissible only so far as it relates to Athens, but it is of sufficient importance to warrant us in applying it more extensively. Plutarch de malign. Herod. c. 21 καίτω πόλω ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὖτε φιλότιμον οὖτως οὖτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν, ώς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, γενομένην; but the examples, which he has collected in support of his assertion, are a number of doubtful statements made in a spirit of opposition to Herodotus. See Wachsmuth l.c. 1 p. 421 f.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς τ Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολής δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης ᾿Αρ᾽ ἄν μοι ἐθελήσαις, ἀ Ἱέρων, διηγήσασθαι ὰ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον 5 ἐμοῦ;

Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ίέρων, ὁποῖα δὴ ἐγὰ βέλτιον ἃν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὅντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός;

Οίδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγώ καὶ ιδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ 2 νῦν τύραννον ὅντα: εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ, πῆ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς καὶ ιδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.

Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι 3
το ἰδιώτης εἰ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίω;
οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὰ δύνασθαι
δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἐκατέρω.

Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας 4 ἔγωγε, ιδ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ 20 μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ

ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὅτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ρινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε 5 καὶ ποτοῖς τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλφ τῷ σώματί μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἤδεσθαί τε καὶ 25 λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν ἤδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῆ διά 6 τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῷ δ' ὕπνφ ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ 30 ἐτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ 30 ἐτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ 30 ἐτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται ἡ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνφ.

Πρός ταθτα δη ό Ίέρων ἀπεκρίνατο Ἐγώ μèν 35
τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας
σύ γε οὐδ' ὅπως ἀν αἴσθοιτό τινος ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος
ἔχοιμ' ἀν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ'
ἐν τίνι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ.

8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν ἀΑλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, μο διαφέρει πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ 45 δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.

9 "Απιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω ταῦτ' εἰχε, πῶς ἄν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἰναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἄν τοὺς τυράννους; 50

"Ότι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ἄπειροι ὅντες 10 αμφοτέρων των έργων σκοπούνται περί αὐτού. έγω δὲ πειράσομαί σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθη λέγω. αρξάμενος από της όψεως έντεύθεν γάρ καὶ σὲ 55 δοκώ μεμνήσθαι άρξάμενον λέγειν. πρώτον μέν 11 γάρ έν τοῦς διὰ τῆς ὅψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος εύρίσκω μειογεκτούντας τούς τυράννους. άλλα μέν γε έν άλλη χώρα έστιν άξιοθέατα έπι δέ τούτων έκαστα οί μεν ίδιώται έργονται, καί είς πόλεις άς 60 αν βούλωνται θεαμάτων ένεκα και είς τάς κοινάς πανηγύρεις, ένθα τὰ άξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ άνθρώποις συναγείρεσθαι, οί δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα 12 αμφί θεωρίας έχουσιν. ούτε γάρ ίέναι αυτοίς ασφαλές όπου μή κρείττονες των παρόντων μέλ-65 λουσιν έσεσθαι, ούτε τὰ οίκοι κέκτηνται έχυρά, ώστε άλλοις παρακαταθεμένους αποδημείν. φοβερον γάρ, μη άμα στερηθώσι της άρχης καὶ αδύνατοι γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τους άδικήσαντας. είποις 13 ούν αν ἴσως σύ, 'Αλλ' άρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ το τοιαύτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δί, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, ολύγα γε τών πολλών και ταυτα τοιαύτα όντα ούτω τίμια πωλείται τοίς τυράννοις, ώστε οί επιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ότιοῦν άξιοῦσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες έν ολίγω χρόνω απιέναι παρά 25 του τυράννου ή όσα έν παντί τω βίω παρά πάντων των άλλων ανθρώπων κτώνται.

Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν 'Αλλ', εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι 14 μειονεκτεῖτε, διά γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὖποτε το σπανίζετε πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα καὶ δσ' ἀν λέγητε καὶ ὅσ' ἀν ποιῆτε ἐπαινοῦσι.
τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, λοιδορίας,
ἀνήκοοί ἐστε' οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τύραννον κατ'
ὀφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν.

15 Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπε· Καὶ τί οἴει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ ες
λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῆ τις σαφῶς
ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὖτοι πάντες κακόνοι εἰσὶ τῷ
τυράννω; ἡ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ὕποπτοι ὦσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς
ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι;

16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἰπε Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἱέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ', ὁρᾶς, ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἄν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὡς οὐχί, δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, 95 πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.

17 Καὶ οἰδά γε, ἔφη, ὡ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτω κρίνουσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἄν δειπνῆσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἡ τὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο 18 παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως

18 παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτὰς πλὴν οὐχ οἱ τύραννοι ἔκπλεψ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ παρεσκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδος τὸν τος ἄστε ταὐτη πρῶτον τῆ εὐφροσύνη τῆς ἐλπίδος

19 μειονεκτούσι των ίδιωτων. Επειτα δ', έφη, εκείνο εὖ οἰδ' ὅτι καὶ σὰ ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι ἔσφ ᾶν πλείω τις παραθήται τὰ περιττὰ των ἰκανῶν, τοσούτφ θᾶττον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς' ὥστε καὶ τῷ 110

χρόνω της ήδονης μειονεκτεί ό παρατιθέμενος πολλά των μετρίως διαιτωμένων.

'Αλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δ΄, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἄν 20 χρόνον ἡ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον 115 ἥδονται οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἑκάστῷ 21 ἡδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἴει καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα ἔγειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου:

120 Πάνυ μέν ουν, έφη.

'Η οὖν ὁρᾶς τι τοὺς τυράννους ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας ἢ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί, ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 125 ἀγλευκέστερον, ώς πολλοῖς ᾶν δόξειε.

Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανή- 22 ματα κατανενόηκας, ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά;

130 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.

Αλλο τι οὖν οἴει, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσ-23 ματα εἶναι ἡ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῆ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ οἴ γε ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες 135 καὶ σύ που οἴσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.

'Αλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυ- 24 τελῶν ὀσμῶν τούτων, αἶς χρίεσθε, τοὺς πλησιά- ζοντας οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἡ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς, 240 ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίτων ὀσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ

βεβρωκώς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.

- 25 Οῦτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων παντοδαπὰ ἀεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ σπανίσας τινός, οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ ¾5 χαρᾶς πιμπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῆ τι.
- Πρός ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης `Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνυ ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἃ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γάρ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὁρῶ τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἑκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ 2 ποτῶν καὶ δψων ἀπεχομένους. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις 5 γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλεῖστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετῆ ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὅπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας καὶ το ταύτας κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἰκανώτατοι δ' ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθρούς, ὀνῆσαι δὲ φίλους.
- 3 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν ᾿Αλλὰ τὸ μὲν 15 πληθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὅχλος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὁρῶν καὶ εὐδαίμονάς 4 τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν δοκοῦντα πολλοῦ ἄξια κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα ω θεᾶσθαι [φανερα] πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκες κρυμμένα, ἔνθαπερ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ κακοδαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. τὸ μὲν

25 οὖν τὸ πλήθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ώσπερ εἰπον, ού θαυμάζω τὸ δὲ καὶ ύμας ταῦτ ἀγνοεῖν, οὶ διὰ της γνώμης δοκείτε θεάσθαι κάλλιον ή διά των όφθαλμών τὰ πλείστα των πραγμάτων, τοῦτό μοι δοκεί θαυμαστόν είναι. έγω δε πεπειραμένος 6 30 σαφώς οίδα, ώ Σιμωνίδη, και λέγω σοι ότι οί τύραννοι των μεγίστων αγαθών ελάγιστον μετέγουσι, τών δέ μεγίστων κακών πλείστα κέκτηνται. αντίκα γάρ εί ή μεν είρηνη δοκεί μέγα άγαθον τοίς 7 ανθρώποις είναι, ταύτης έλάχιστον τοίς τυράννοις 35 μέτεστιν' ὁ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν, τούτου πλεῖστον μέρος οί τύραννοι μετέγουσιν. εύθύς γάρ 8 τοίς μεν ίδιώταις, αν μή ή πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον πολεμή, έξεστιν όποι αν βούλωνται πορεύεσθαι μηδέν φοβουμένους, μή τις αὐτούς το επακτείνη, οί δὲ τύραννοι πάντες πανταγή ώς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται. αὐτοί τε γοῦν ώπλισμένοι οιονται ανάγκην είναι διάγειν καὶ άλλους όπλοφόρους αξί συμπεριάγεσθαι. ἔπειτα δὲ οί μὲν ο ίδιωται, έὰν καὶ στρατεύωνταί ποι είς πολεμίαν, ες άλλ' οὐν ἐπειδάν γε ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν σφίσιν ήγουνται είναι, οί δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδάν είς την έαυτών πόλιν αφίκωνται, τότε έν πλείστοις πολεμίοις ίσασιν όντες. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι 10 στρατεύωσιν είς την πόλιν κρείττονες, εάν έξω 50 τοῦ τείγους όντες οἱ ήττονες ἐν κινδύνω δοκώσιν είναι, άλλ' ἐπειδάν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν, έν ασφαλεία πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ουδ' επειδάν είσω της οίκιας παρέλθη έν ακινδύνω έστίν, αλλ' ένταθθα δή και μάλιστα

11 φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις 55 καὶ διὰ σπονδών καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου ανάπαυσις, τοις δε τυράννοις ούτε ειρήνη ποτέ πρός τούς τυραννευομένους γίγνεται οὖτε σπονδαίς 12 αν ποτε πιστεύσας δ τύραννος θαρρήσειε. καλ πόλεμοι μεν δή είσιν ούς τε αί πόλεις πολεμούσι ω και ούς οι τύραννοι πρός τούς βεβιασμένους. τούτων δη των πολέμων όσα μεν έχει χαλεπά δ 13 έν ταις πόλεσι, ταυτα και ο τύραννος έγει και γάρ εν δπλοις δει είναι αμφοτέρους και φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἄν τι πάθωσι κακὸν 65 14 ήττηθέντες, λυπούνται έπι τούτοις έκάτεροι. μέγρι μέν δή τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι ά δὲ ἔχουσιν ήδέα οί ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ταῦτα οὐκέτι 15 έχουσιν οί τύραννοι. αί μεν γάρ πόλεις δήπου ύταν κρατήσωσι μάχη των ἐναντίων, οὐ ῥάδιον το είπειν, όσην μεν ήδονην έχουσιν εν τώ τρέψασθαι [τοὺς πολεμίους], ὅσην δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσην δ' ἐν τω αποκτείνειν τους πολεμίους, ως δε γαυρούνται έπὶ τῷ ἔργφ, ὡς δὲ δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ώς δ' εὐφραίνονται την πόλιν νομίζοντες 75 16 ηὐξηκέναι. Εκαστος δέ τις προσποιείται καὶ τῆς βουλής μετεσχηκέναι καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέναι, χαλεπον δε εύρειν δπου ούχι και επιψεύδονταί <τι>, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέναι ή ὅσοι αν τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν· οὕτω καλόν τι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ & 17 είναι τὸ πολύ νικάν. ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑποπτεύση καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι ἀντιπράττοντάς τινας αποκτείνη, οίδεν ότι οὐκ αὔξει όλην τὴν πόλιν, επίσταταί τε, δτι μειόνων άρξει, φαιδρός τε οὐ

85 δύναται είναι, οὐδὲ μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειοῦ καθ' ὅσον ἀν δύνηται τὸ γεγενημένον, καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ἄμα πράττων ώς οὐκ ἀδικῶν πεποίηκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι. καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οῦς ἐφο- 18 50 βήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τούτου < ἔνεκα > θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ τὸ πρόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων διατελεῦ ὁ τύραννος, οἶον ἐγώ δηλῶ.

Φιλίας δ' αὐ καταθέασαι ώς κοινωνούσιν οί ΙΙΙ τύραννοι, πρώτον μέν εί μέγα αγαθόν ανθρώποις ή φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. δς γὰρ ἀν φιλήται 2 δήπου ύπό τινων, ήδέως μέν τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες ς παρόντα δράσιν, ήδέως δ' εδ ποιούσι, ποθούσι δὲ αν που απή, ήδιστα δὲ πάλιν προσιόντα δέχονται, συνήδονται δ' έπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς, συνεπικουροῦσι δὲ ἐάν τι σφαλλόμενον ὁρῶσιν. οὐ μὲν 3 δη λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι ή φιλία μέγιστον 10 αγαθόν καὶ ήδιστον ανθρώποις ἐστί: μόνους γοῦν τούς μοιγούς νομίζουσι πολλαί των πόλεων νηποινί αποκτείνειν, δήλον ότι δια ταύτα έτι λυμαντήρας αὐτούς νομίζουσι τής τών γυναικών φιλίας πρός τους ανδρας είναι. έπει όταν γε 4 15 αφροδισιασθή κατά συμφοράν τινα γυνή, οὐδέν ήττον τούτου ένεκεν τιμώσιν αυτάς οι άνδρες. εάνπερ ή φιλία δοκή αυταίς ακήρατος διαμένειν. τοσούτον δέ τι άγαθὸν κρίνω έγωγε τὸ φιλείσθαι ς είναι, ώστε νομίζω τω όντι αὐτόματα τάγαθά τω 20 φιλουμένω γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρά θεών καὶ παρά ανθρώπων, και τούτου τοίνυν του κτήματος 6

τοιούτου όντος μειονεκτούσιν οί τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα. εί δὲ βοίλει, ω Σιμωνίδη, είδέναι δτι 7 αληθή λέγω, ώδε ἐπίσκεψαι. βεβαιόταται μὲν γαρ δήπου δοκούσι φιλίαι είναι γονεύσι πρός 25 παίδας καὶ παισὶ πρὸς γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς άδελφούς καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἐταίροις πρὸς 8 έταίρους. εὶ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοείν, εὐρήσεις μεν τους ιδιώτας ύπο τούτων πάντων μάλιστα φιλουμένους, τούς δὲ τυράννους πολλούς μὲν παῖ- 30 δας ξαυτών ἀπεκτονότας, πολλούς δ' ύπὸ παίδων αυτούς απολωλότας, πολλούς δε άδελφούς εν τυραννίσιν άλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλούς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ξαυτῶν τυράννους διεφθαρμένους καὶ ύπὸ έταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα 35 9 δοκούντων φίλων είναι. οἵτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλείν και νόμφ συνηναγκασμένων οθτω μισούνται, πώς ύπ' άλλου γέ ΙΝ τινος οἴεσθαι γρη αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι; ᾿Αλλά μήν καὶ πίστεως όστις ἐλάχιστον μετέχει, πῶς ούχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ; ποία μὲν γαρ Ευνουσία ήδεια άνευ πίστεως της πρός άλλήλους, ποία δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνής άνευ πίστεως όμιλία, ποίος δὲ θεράπων ήδὺς 2 ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν [τοῦ πιστῶς πρός τινας έχειν] έλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννω. όπότε γε οὐδὲ σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει, άλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, τοὺς 10 διακόνους πρώτον κελεύουσιν απογεύσασθαι διά τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακόν τι φάγωσιν 3 η πίωσιν. άλλα μην και αι πατρίδες τοις μέν

άλλοις ανθρώποις πλείστου άξιαι πολίται γάρ 15 δορυφορούσι μέν αλλήλους άνευ μισθού έπὶ τούς δούλους, δορυφορούσι δ' έπὶ τούς κακούργους ίπερ του μηδένα των πολιτών βιαίω θανάτω αποθυήσκειν. ούτω δὲ πόρρω προεληλύθασι 4 φυλακής, ώστε πεποίηνται πολλοί νόμον τώ 20 μιαιφόνω μηδέ τον συνόντα καθαρεύειν ωστε διά τάς πατρίδας ἀσφαλώς ἔκαστος βιοτεύει τών πολιτών, τοις δέ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν ς ανέστραπται. άντὶ γάρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν [αὐτοῖς] αἰ πόλεις μεγάλως τιμώσι τον αποκτείναντα τον 25 τύραννον, καὶ ἀντί γε τοῦ εἴργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ώσπερ τους των ιδιωτών φονέας, αντί τούτου καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἰεροῖς ἰστάσιν αὶ πόλεις τών τοιούτό τι ποιησάντων. Ο δέ σύ οίει 6 ώς πλείω έγων των ίδιωτων κτήματα ό τύραν-30 νος διά τούτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐφραίνεται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οι άθληται ούχ όταν ιδιωτών γένωνται κρείττονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν τῶν άνταγωνιστών ήττους, τουτ' αυτούς άνια, ούτω 35 καὶ ὁ τύραννος ούχ, ὅταν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλείω φαίνηται έγων, τότ' εὐφραίνεται, άλλ', όταν έτέρων τυράννων έλάττω έχη, τούτω λυπείται. τούτους γάρ ἀνταγωνιστάς ήγειται αύτώ τοῦ πλούτου είναι. οὐδέ γε θᾶττόν τι γίγνεται ? 40 τω τυράννω ή τω ίδιωτη ων επιθυμεί. ὁ μέν γάρ ίδιώτης οίκίας ή άγρου ή οίκέτου ἐπιθυμεί, ό δὲ τύραννος ἡ πόλεων ἡ χώρας πολλής ἡ λιμένων ή ακροπόλεων Ισχυρών, α έστι πολύ

γαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα κατεργάσασθαι 8 των ιδιωτικών επιθυμημάτων. άλλα μέντοι καί 45 πένητας όψει ούχ ούτως όλίγους των ίδιωτων ώς πολλούς τών τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὕτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὖτε τὰ ἱκανά, ἀλλά πρὸς τας γρήσεις ώστε τα μεν ύπερβάλλοντα τα ίκανὰ πολλά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα 50 ο ολίγα. τω οὖν τυράννω τὰ πολλαπλάσια ήττον ίκανά έστιν είς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἡ τῷ ίδιώτη. τοις μέν γάρ ιδιώταις έξεστι τάς δαπάνας συντέμνειν είς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὅπη βούλονται, τοις δε τυράννοις οὐκ ενδέχεται. αί γὰρ μέγισται 55 αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυγης φυλακάς είσι το δε τούτων <τι> συντέμνειν 10 όλεθρος δοκεί είναι. Επειτα δε όσοι μεν δύνανται έγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί αν τούτους οίκτείροι τις ώς πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται 60 δι' ενδειαν κακόν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι ζην. πώς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἄν τις καὶ πένητας 11 δικαίως νομίζοι; οι τύραννοι τοίνυν αναγκάζονται πλείστα συλάν άδίκως καὶ ίερα καὶ άνθρώπους διά τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσ-65 δείσθαι χρημάτων. ώσπερ γάρ πολέμου δντος αελ αναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ή απολωλέναι.

Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, τῶν τυράννων. γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
 ἦττον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κοσμίους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ
 δικαίους, τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦν ται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους μή τι τολμήσωσι τῆς 5

έλευθερίας ένεκα, τούς δὲ σοφούς μή τι μηχανήσωνται, τους δέ δικαίους μη ἐπιθυμήση τὸ πλήθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ 2 τούς τοιούτους δια τον φόβον ύπεξαιρώνται, τίνες ιο άλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρησθαι άλλ' ή οί άδικοί τε καὶ άκρατείς καὶ άνδραποδώδεις; οί μεν άδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι Φοβούνται ώσπερ οί τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ελεύθεραι γενόμεναι έγκρατείς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οί δ' ἀκρατείς τῆς είς 15 τὸ παρὸν εξουσίας ενεκα, οι δ' ανδραποδώδεις διότι ούδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιούσιν ἐλεύθεροι είναι. γαλεπὸν ούν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοινε δοκεῖ είναι, τὸ άλλους μεν ήγεισθαι άγαθούς άνδρας, άλλοις δέ χρήσθαι αναγκάζεσθαι. έτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν 3 20 ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον είναι ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ούτ' αν σώζεσθαι δύναιτο ούτ' αν εύδαιμονείν ή δε τυραννίς αναγκάζει και ταις εαυτών πατρίσιν έγκαλείν. οὔτε γάρ άλκίμους οὔτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, 25 άλλα τους ξένους δεινοτέρους των πολιτών ποιούντες ήδονται μάλλον καὶ τούτοις χρώνται δορυφόροις. άλλα μην ούδ' αν εύετηριών γενομένων 4 άφθονία των άγαθων γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ό τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γάρ οὖσι ταπεινοτέροις 30 αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

Βούλομαι δέ σοι, έφη, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, κἀκείνας VI
τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος,
ὅτ' ἢν ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην,
αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν 2
5 μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ

έμαυτω, όπότε ήσυγίας έπιθυμήσαιμι, διήγον δ' έν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μεν μέγρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εί τι γαλεπον εν ανθρωπίνω βίω ην, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ώδαῖς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ γοροίς την ψυγην συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δέ 10 μένοι κοινής εὐθυμίας έμης τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων. 3 νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων ἔγειν τοὺς ἐταίρους, απεστέρημαι δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ ήδέως ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν διά το μηδεμίαν ένοραν εύνοιαν έμοι παρ' αὐτῶν' 15 μέθην δὲ καὶ ύπνον ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι. 4 τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὅγλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβείσθαι δε άφυλαξίαν, φοβείσθαι δε καὶ αὐτούς τούς φυλάττοντας και μήτ' ἀόπλους ἔγειν ἐθέλειν περί αύτον μήθ' ώπλισμένους ήδέως θεασθαι 20 ς πώς οὐκ ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ πράγμα; ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μέν μάλλον ή πολίταις πιστεύειν, Βαρβάροις δέ μάλλον η "Ελλησιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τούς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δούλους έγειν, τούς δε δούλους αναγκάζεσθαι ποιείν έλευθέρους, ου πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεί 25 ψυγής ύπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια 6 είναι; ο γέ τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνών ταῖς ψυγαίς λυπηρός έστιν, άλλά και πάντων τών η ήδέων συμπαρομαρτών λυμαντήρ γίγνεται, εί δέ καὶ σὺ πολεμικών ἔμπειρος εἰ, ω Σιμωνίδη, καὶ 30 ήδη ποτέ πολεμία φάλαγγι πλησίον αντετάξω, αναμνήσθητι ποίον μέν τινα σίτον ήροῦ έν ἐκείνω 8 τῶ γρόνω, ποῖον δέ τινα ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ. οἶα μέντοι σοὶ τότ' ἢν τὰ λυπηρά, τοιαθτ' <ἀεί> ἐστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας 35 μόνον, αλλά καὶ πάντοθεν πολεμίους δραν νομίζουσιν οι τύραννοι.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων ἔφη. Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὧ Σιμωνίδη το αὐτών μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ώστε περὶ 43 έαυτών φοβούνται καὶ ύπερ ύμων οί δε τύραννοι μισθού φύλακας έχουσιν ώσπερ θεριστάς. καὶ δεί 11 μέν δήπου τους φύλακας μηδέν ούτω ποιείν δύνασθαι ώς πιστούς είναι πιστόν δὲ ένα πολύ γαλεπώτερον εύρειν ή πάνυ πολλούς έργάτας όποιου βούλει 50 έργου, άλλως τε καὶ όπόταν χρημάτων μὲν ενεκα παρώσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες, ἐξῆ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐλίγω γρόνω πολύ πλείω λαβείν αποκτείνασι τον τύρανγον ή όσα πολύν γρόνον φυλάττοντες παρά τοῦ τυράννου λαμβάνουσιν. δ δ' εζήλωσας ήμας, ώς 12 55 τους μεν φίλους μάλιστα εὐ ποιείν δυνάμεθα, τούς δ' έγθρούς πάντων μάλιστα γειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' ούτως έχει. φίλους μεν γάρ πως άν νομίσαις 13 ποτέ εὖ ποιείν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῆς ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλείστα λαμβάνων παρά σοῦ ἥδιστ' αν ώς τάγιστα έξ 60 οφθαλμών σου γένοιτο; ο τι γάρ άν τις λάβη παρά τυράννου, ούδεις ούδεν αύτου νομίζει πρίν άν έξω της τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται. ἐχθρούς 14 δ' αὐ πῶς ἀν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξεῖναι γειρούσθαι, όταν εὐ είδωσιν ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτων εἰσι 65 πάντες οί τυραννούμενοι, τούτους δὲ μήτε κατακαίνειν ἄπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οδόν τε ἢ· τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει; ἀλλ' εἰδότα, ὅτι ἐχθροί εἰσι, τούτους ἄμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέη καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' 15 αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι; εὖ δ' ἴσθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὧ Σμωνίδη, ὅτι καὶ, οῦς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι, χαλε-τοπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὁρῶσι, χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν' ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος εἰ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι ποιήση, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῷτο, εὐλαβούμενος μή τι 15 16 ἀνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσηται. καὶ τάλλα γε κτήματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἄπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

'Επεί δε ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, είπε 'Εοικεν, έφη, ω 'Ιέρων, μέγα τι είναι ή τιμή, ής δρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑπο-2 δύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι. καὶ ὑμεῖς. ώς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐγούσης ὁπόσα 5 λέγεις της τυραννίδος, όμως προπετώς φέρεσθε είς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως, περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων, όδων τε παραγωρώσι, γεραίρωσι δὲ καὶ 10 λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς. τοιαθτα γάρ δή ποιοθσι τοις τυράννοις οι άρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὅντινα ἀεὶ τιμώντες τυγχάνουσι. 3 καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, δ Ἱέρων, τούτω διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ των άλλων ζώων, τω τιμής δρέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σίτοις 15 νε καὶ ποτοίς καὶ ύπνοις καὶ < τοίς τοιούτοις>

πάντα όμοίως ήδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ ζῷα. ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῷοις ἐμφύεται οὕτ' ἐν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις. οἶς δ' ἄν ἐμφύη τιμῆς τε καὶ εὐπαίνου ἔρως, οὐτοί εἰσιν ήδη οἱ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι. ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν 4 εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν ὰ φέρετε ἐν τῆ τυραννίδι, ἐπείπερ τιμᾶσθε διαφερόντως τῶν τόδονὴ τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη.

Πρός ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἱέρων 'Αλλ', ως Σιμωνίδη, αί ύπουργίαι αί ύπὸ φοβουμένων οὐ 30 τιμαί είσι, πῶς γὰρ ἀν φαίημεν ἡ τοὺς βία 7 έξανισταμένους θάκων διά τὸ τιμάν τους άδικοῦντας εξανίστασθαι ή τους όδων παραχωρούντας τοίς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμάν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας παραγωρείν: καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις 8 35 ούς μισούσι, καὶ ταύτα όταν μάλιστα φοβώνται μή τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν οίμαι δουλείας έργα είκότως αν νομίζοιτο. αί δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. όταν γάρ άνθρωποι άνδρα 9 40 ήγησάμενοι εύεργετείν ίκανὸν είναι καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα τοῦτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε έγωσιν έπαινούντες, θεώνται τ' αὐτὸν ώς οίκειον έκαστος άγαθόν, έκόντες τε παραγωρώσι τούτω όδων καλ θάκων ύπανιστώνται φιλούντές τε 45 καὶ μή φοβούμενοι, καὶ στεφανώσι κοινή άρετής καὶ εὐεργεσίας ένεκα καὶ δωρείσθαι ἐθέλωσιν οί

αὐτοί, οὖτοι ἔμουγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς οἱ ᾶν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιού10 μενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὅντι. καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὖκ 50 ἐπιβουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μή τι πάθη καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα ὁ δὲ τύραννος, ώς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι ἀδικίαν ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτως, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ 55 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.

- 11 'Επεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὧ 'Ιέρων, εἰ οὕτω πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὰ ἔγνωκας, οὖκ ἀπαλλάττει οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὔτε σὰ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ ω οὖδεὶς πώποτε ἑκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφεῖτο, ὅσπερ ἄπαξ ἐκτήσατο;
- 12 "Οτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ταύτη ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἡ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἄν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε 65 τύραννος ἡ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο, ἡ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπαράσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἡ ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ᾶν ἰκανὰς Ψυχὰς ἀντιπαρά-
- 13 σχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ' εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῷ, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι το τυράννῷ ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὕτε ἔχειν οὕτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.
- VIII Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβων εἶπεν ᾿Αλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν, ἄ Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπείπερ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖ-

σθαι ύπ' ανθρώπων έμποδών σοι τούτου νομίζεις 5 αὐτὴν είναι. ἐγώ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι σε ώς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, άλλα και πλεονεκτεί γε της ίδιωτείας έπισκο- 2 πούντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, μήπω ἐκείνο σκοπώμεν, εί δια τὸ μείζον δύνασθαι ὁ άρχων το καὶ γαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' αν τὰ όμοια ποιώσιν ό τε ίδιώτης καὶ ό τύραννος, έννόει πότερος μείζω άπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν. ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παραδειγμάτων. ίδων γάρ πρώτον προσειπάτω τινά φιλικώς 3 15 ο τε άργων και ο ίδιώτης ' έν τούτω την ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μάλλον ευφραίνειν τον ακούσαντα νομίζεις: ίθι δή επαινεσάντων αμφότεροι τον αὐτόν, τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι μάλλον είς ευφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω 20 έκατερος την παρά ποτέρου τιμήν μείζονος αν γάριτος δοκείς τυγγάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευ- 4 σάντων όμοίως οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές ὅτι αἱ ὑπὸ τών δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι καλ χαράν έμποιούσι μεγίστην; δόντων δή τὰ ἴσα οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτω 25 σαφές "στι αί από των δυνατωτάτων ημίσειαι γάριτες πλέον ή όλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ίδιώτου δώρημα δύνανται; άλλ' εμοιγε δοκεί και έκ θεών τιμή τις ε και γάρις συμπαρέπεσθαι ανδρί άργοντι. μή γαρ ότι καλλίονα ποιεί άνδρα, άλλα καὶ τὸν 30 αὐτὸν τοῦτον <ῆδιον> θεώμεθά τε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἡ ὅταν ίδιωτεύη, διαλεγόμενοί τε άγαλλόμεθα τοίς προτετιμημένοις μάλλον ή τοίς έκ τοῦ ἴσου ήμιν οὖσι. όπότε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζόνων τ

χαρίτων ύμεις τυγχάνετε, πώς οὐκ, ἐπειδάν γε ύμεις πολλαπλάσια μεν διαπράττοντες ώφελειν 35 δύνησθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔγητε, ὑμᾶς καὶ πολύ μαλλον φιλείσθαι των ίδιωτων προσήκει; Καὶ ὁ Ιέρων εὐθὺς ὑπολαβών, "Οτι νη Δί, ἔφη, ω Σιμωνίδη, καὶ έξ ων ἀπεγθάνονται ἄνθρωποι, ήμας πολύ πλείω των ιδιωτών ανάγκη έστὶ πραγ- 40 9 ματεύεσθαι. πρακτέον μέν γε χρήματα, εἰ μέλλομεν έξειν δαπανάν είς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγκαστέον δὲ φυλάττειν όσα δείται φυλακής, κολαστέον δὲ τούς αδίκους, κωλυτέον δε τούς ύβρίζειν βουλομένους καὶ όταν γε τάγους καιρὸς παραστή ή 45 πεζη ή κατά θάλατταν έξορμασθαι, οὐκ ἐπιτρε-10 πτέον τοις ραδιουργούσιν. ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων μὲν ανδρί τυράννω δεί τούτου δε βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ γὰρ τυράννοις ισοτιμίας άλλά πλεονεξίας ενεκα νομίζουσι τού- 50 τους τρέφεσθαι.

1Χ Πρός ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης
'Αλλ' ὅπως μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὧ
'ἱέρων, οὐ λέγω. ἐπιμέλειαι μέντοι μοι δοκοῦσιν
αί μὲν πάνυ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἄγειν, αί δὲ πάνυ διὰ
2 χαρίτων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν ἄ ἐστι 5
βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενον
ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ
χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα
λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ
κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον 10
3 γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸ
μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι

IEPΩN

κολάζειν, το δὲ τὰ άθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αύτοῦ ποιητέον. ώς δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει μαρτυρεῖ τὰ 15 γυγνόμενα. καὶ γὰρ όταν γορούς ἡμῖν Βουλώμεθα 4 ανωνίζεσθαι, άθλα μεν ο άρχων προτίθησιν, άθροίζειν δὲ αὐτούς προστέτακται γορηγοίς καὶ άλλοις διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ένδεως τι ποιούσιν, οὐκοῦν εὐθύς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν 20 έπίγαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα δι άλλων, τί ούν κωλύει και τάλλα τὰ πολιτικά ς ούτω περαίνεσθαι; διήρηνται μέν γάρ άπασαι αί πόλεις αί μεν κατά φυλάς, αί δε κατά μόρας, αί δὲ κατά λόγους, καὶ ἄργοντες ἐφ' ἐκάστω μέρει 25 έφεστήκασιν. ούκοθν εί τις καλ τούτοις ώσπερ 6 τοῖς χοροῖς ἀθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἱππικής καὶ ἀλκής τής ἐν πολέμω καὶ δικαιοσύνης της εν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ ταθτα πάντα διά φιλονικίαν έντόνως άσκεισθαι. 30 καὶ val μὰ Δία ὁρμῶντό γ' αν θᾶττον ὅποι δέοι 7 τιμής δρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θάττον εἰσφέροιεν, όπότε τούτου καιρός είη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρησιμώτατον ήκιστα δε είθισμένον διά φιλονικίας πράττεσθαι, ή γεωργία αὐτή αν πολύ ἐπιδοίη. 35 εί τις άθλα προτιθείη κατ' άγρους ή κατά κώμας τοίς κάλλιστα την γην έξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοίς είς τούτο τών πολιτών έρρωμένως τρεπομένοις πολλά αν αγαθά περαίνοιτο. καὶ γάρ αι πρόσοδοι 8 αύξοιντ' αν και ή σωφροσύνη πολύ μάλλον αν 40 τη ασγολία συμπαρομαρτοίη, και μην κακουργίαι γε ήττον τοις ένεργοις έμφύονται, εί δὲ καὶ 9 έμπορία ώφελεί τι πόλιν, τιμωμένος άν ὁ πλείστα

τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἃν πλείους ἀγείροι. εἰ δὲ φανερὸν γένοιτο ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσοδόν τινα ἄλυπον ἐξευρίσκων τῆ πόλει τιμήσεται, οὐδ' αὕτη 45

10 αν ή σκέψις άργοϊτο. ώς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐμφανὲς εἴη, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθόν τι εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς αν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ώφελίμων 50 μέλη, ἀνάγκη εὐρίσκεσθαί τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτελεῖ-

11 σθαι. εί δὲ φοβεῖ, ἀ Ἱέρων, μὴ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἄθλων προτιθεμένων πολλαὶ <αί> δαπάναι γίγνωνται, ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελέστερα ἡ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἄθλων ἀνοῦνται. ὁρῆς ἐν 55 ἐππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὡς μικρὰ ἄθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους καὶ πολλὸς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων;

Χ Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν' ᾿Αλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὁ Σιμωνίδη, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν περὶ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχεις τι εἶπεῖν ὡς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δἰ αὐτούς; ἡ λέγεις ὡς φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων;

2 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσφ ἀν ἔκπλεα τὰ 3 δέοντα ἔχωσι, τοσούτφ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἀν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ ιο τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὡφελήματα 4 παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῶ φύλακας.

15 ήδη δὲ πολλοί καὶ δεσπόται βία ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων απέθανου, εί οὖν εν πρώτον τοῦτ' εἴη τών προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ώς πάντων όντας δορυφόρους των πολιτών βοηθείν πάσιν, άν τι τοιούτον αἰσθάνωνται γίγνονται δέ που, ώς 20 πάντες επιστάμεθα, κακούργοι εν πόλεσιν εί ούν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν είεν τετανμένοι, καὶ τοῦτ' αν είδειεν ύπ' αὐτῶν ώφελούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τού- 5 τοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῆ χώρα ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν ούτοι αν είκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν 25 δύναιντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, όμοίως μεν τοίς σοίς ίδίοις, όμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοί γε μήν είσι καὶ σχολήν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ίδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φυλάττοντες. πρός δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας 6 30 καὶ έξαπιναίας τίνες έτοιμότεροι ή προαισθέσθαι ή κωλύσαι των άεὶ έν ὅπλοις τε ὅντων καὶ συντεταγμένων; άλλά μην καὶ έν στρατεία τί έστιν ώφελιμώτερον πολίταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γάρ προπονείν και προκινδυνεύειν και προφυλάττειν 35 είκὸς έτοιμοτάτους είναι. τὰς δ' ἀγχιτέρμονας 7 πόλεις ούκ ανάγκη δια τούς αεί έν οπλοις όντας καὶ εἰρήνης μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οί γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλειν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύναιντ' ἄν. ὅταν γε 8 40 μην γνώσιν οί πολίται ότι ούτοι κακόν μέν ούδεν ποιούσι τον μηδέν άδικούντα, τούς δέ κακουργείν Βουλομένους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, προνοούσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τών πολιτών, πώς ούκ ανάγκη καὶ δαπανάν είς τού-

τους ήδιστα; τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ίδία ἐπὶ μείοσι 45 ΧΙ τούτων φύλακας. γρη δέ, ω Ίέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ των ιδίων κτημάτων οκνείν δαπανάν είς τὸ κοινον αγαθόν. και γαρ έμοιγε δοκεί τα είς την πόλιν αναλούμενα μαλλον είς το δέον τελ-2 εῖσθαι ἡ τὰ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννω. καθ' 5 εν δ' εκαστον σκοπώμεν. οικίαν πρώτον ύπερβαλλούση δαπάνη κεκαλλωπισμένην μάλλον ήγει κόσμον αν σοι παρέχειν ή πασαν την πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παραστάσι καὶ 3 άγοραίς και λιμέσι κατεσκευασμένην; ὅπλοις δὲ 10 πότερον τοις έκπαγλοτάτοις αυτός κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος αν φαίνοιο τοις πολεμίοις ή της 4 πόλεως όλης εὐόπλου σοι οὕσης; προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως αν δοκείς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εί τὰ σὰ ίδια μόνον ενεργά έχοις ή εί τὰ πάντων των 15 ς πολιτών μεμηγανημένος είης ένεργα είναι; τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομιζόμενον είναι επιτήδευμα, άρματοτροφίαν, ποτέρως άν δοκείς μάλλον κοσμείν, εί αὐτὸς πλείστα τών Έλλήνων άρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς τὰς 20 πανηγύρεις, ή εί έκ της σης πόλεως πλείστοι μέν ίπποτροφοίεν πλείστοι δ' αγωνίζοιντο; νικάν δέ πότερα δοκείς κάλλιον είναι ἄρματος ἀρετή ή 6 πόλεως, ής προστατεύεις, εὐδαιμονία; ἐγώ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν Φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννω πρὸς ἰδιώτας 25 αγωνίζεσθαι. νικών μέν γάρ οὐκ αν θαυμάζοιο άλλα φθονοίο, ώς άπο πολλών οἴκων τας δαπάνας ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' αν πάντων μάλιστα 7 καταγελώο. άλλ' έγώ σοί φημι, & Ίέρων, πρὸς

30 άλλους προστάτας πόλεων τὸν ἀγώνα είναι, ὧν έαν σύ εύδαιμονεστάτην την πόλιν, ης προστατεύεις, παρέχης, εὖ ἔσει νικῶν τῶ καλλίστω καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτω εν ανθρώποις αγωνίσματι. καὶ πρώτον μὲν εὐθὺς κατειργασμένος αν εἴης τὸ 8 35 φιλείσθαι ύπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὖ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις έπειτα δε την σην νίκην οὐκ αν είς είη ό ανακηρύττων, αλλά πάντες ανθρωποι ύμνοιεν αν την σην αρετήν. περίβλεπτος δὲ ών οὐχ ύπὸ 9 ίδιωτών μόνον άλλά καὶ ὑπὸ [πολλών] πόλεων φ αγαπώο αν καὶ θαυμαστός οὐκ ίδία μόνον άλλα καὶ δημοσία παρά πασιν αν είης καὶ έξείη μεν αν 10 σοι ένεκεν ασφαλείας, εί ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσοντι πορεύεσθαι, έξείη δ' αν αυτού μένοντι τουτο πράττειν. ἀεὶ γὰρ ᾶν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴη τῶν 45 βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι εἴ τίς τι σοφον ἡ καλον η αγαθον έγοι, των δε καὶ επιθυμούντων ύπηρετείν. πας δε ό μεν παρών σύμμαχος αν είη σοι, ό δε 11 απών επιθυμοίη αν ίδειν σε. ώστε ου μόνον φιλοίο αν αλλα και έρφο ύπ' ανθρώπων, φόβον δε οὐκ αν 50 έχοις άλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχοις μή τι πάθης, έκόντας 12 δέ τούς πειθομένους έχοις αν καὶ έθελουσίως σου προνοούντας θεώο ἄν, εἰ δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον άλλα καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους δρώης ἄν, πολλών μεν δωρεών άξιούμενος, 55 οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ ὅτῷ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις. πάντας μέν συγχαίροντας έχων έπὶ τοῖς σοῖς αγαθοίς, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν ίδίων μαχομένους. θησαυρούς γε μην έχοις <αν> 13 πάντας τούς παρά τοις φίλοις πλούτους. άλλά

θαρρών, & 'Ιέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους 60 σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς αὖξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν σαυτῷ γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις κτῶ δὲ αὐτῆ συμμάχους 14 νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὅτι περ τὴν σὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τούτους 65 15 πάντας πειρῶ νικᾶν εὖ ποιῶν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῆς εὖ ποιῶν, οὐ μή σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι. κὰν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῆς, εὖ ἴσθι πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσει εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ 70 οὐ φθονήσει.

NOTES

ON

THE HIERON

o r

XENOPHON

N.B. The Marginal Numerals refer to the Pages of the Text.

The References to the Notes are by Chapters and Sections.

- COBET refers to Novae Lectiones by Prof. C. G. Cobet, Leyden, 1858.
- g. to Prof. W. W. Goodwin's Greek Grammar. Macmillan and Co.
- G. Mr. to Prof. W. W. Goodwin's Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb. 6th Edition. 1875.
- HA. to Prof. James Hadley's Greek Grammar, revised and in part rewritten by Prof. Fr. Allen. Macmillan and Co.
- KÜHN. to Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache von Dr Raphael Kühner. Ed. 2. Hannover, 1869—1870.
- MADV. to Madvig's Syntax of the Greek Language tr. by H. Browne. Rivingtons, 1853.
- TH. to F. E. Thompson's Syntax of Attic Greek. Rivingtons, 1883.
- STURZ to Lexicon Xenophonteum by F. G. Sturz. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1801—4.
- VEITCH to Greek Verbs by W. Veitch, LL.D. Oxford, 1871.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

Simonides, on occasion of a visit to the court of Hieron, the despot of Syracuse, asks him, as one who has personally tried the life of a private citizen and that of a despot, which of the two he considers preferable in regard to pleasures and pains (§ 1—§ 2). Before replying to his question, Hieron inquires of Simonides what are the agreeables and disagreeables of private life, and, when Simonides has recounted these, declares that he does not know any sensations of pleasure or pain that a despot is susceptible of besides those he has mentioned (§ 3—§ 7). Simonides says that, though despots may experience no other pleasures, still what they have exceed in variety and degree those of private men, while of pains they have a much smaller share (§ 8).

Hieron replies that the life of a despot has much more pain, and much less pleasure, than that of a private citizen of middling circumstances. Simonides insists on the superior means of enjoyment possessed by the despot, because otherwise so many would not have aspired to be despots, nor would despots have been the object of so much envy to all mankind (§ 9). 'Their inexperience of both conditions of life misleads them', says Hieron. 'The despot feels no greater real happiness in his own bosom; while he suffers many pains and privations of which the spectator takes no account. As to the pleasures of sight, the despot forfeits altogether the first and greatest, because it is unsafe for him to travel abroad or visit the public festivals and matches' (§ 10—§ 13).

'Well' replies Simonides 'at all events despots have the advantage of us in what they hear, if not in what they see. Their ears are always gratified by praise, while they escape the unpleasantness of censure and detraction' (§ 14).

To this Hieron replies 'There is not much to gratify in praise which is insincere, nor in the absence of censure, which is unheard only because speakers dare not express what they really feel' (§ 15).

'I quite agree with you' says Simonides 'that disinterested praise is the pleasantest. But surely in the pleasures of the table there can be no comparison between despots and private men. The despot has finer cookery and richer unquents'. 'This' says Hieron' is a vulgar error. A thing is pleasant in proportion to its rarity. He who but rarely meets with a delicacy enjoys it with a keener relish. As to the scent of unquents, it gives more pleasure to those who are near him than to the despot himself' (§ 16—§ 25).

- 1 § 1 1.1 wort, 'once upon a time', G. § 87, 2. 2 σχολής verouérns dudoir. G. § 184, 4, HA. § 768. 3 ό Σιμωνίδης: The article is used as in renewed mention. פס' פש-פונצאה. ous, 'would you be willing?' On the use of the optative with dr as a potential without expressed protasis see my note to Cyr. 11 i 8, G. § 226, 2 (b) Note 1, MT. § 52, 2 Note, 4 εἰκός, sc. ἐστίν, ix 6, x 7. 'pray, what sort of things?' kal prefixed to an interrogative pronoun or particle serves to emphasize the question. όποι - aν είδειην, 'such as I must know', potential opt. 7 βέλτιόν σου: G. § 75. ούτως όντος σοφού ανδρός, 'such a wise man as you': ουτως, like πολύ, πάνυ, μάλλον and other adverbs, is frequently separated from the adjectives or adverbs which it qualifies for the sake of additional emphasis: cf. l. 130, Oecon. ii 9.
 - § 2 1. 9 olbá σε...γεγενημένον: G. § 280. ἰδιώτης is the 'ordinary private man', in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by his office or by the possession of some professional acquirement (ἐπάίων). See on iv 1. 32.

- 10 ἀμφοτέρων, i. e. τοῦ τυραννικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ βίου. πεπειραμένον, 'since you have had experience', G. § 277, 2. 11 πŷ, qua ratione, 'in what way' G. § 87, 2, HA. § 779 a. 12 εἰς εὐφροσύνας, 'in respect to enjoyments'. Cf. Anab. n vì 30 οὐδεἰς εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὐς ἐμέμφετο, Cyr. 1 iii 1 πάντων τῶν ἡλίκων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθανειν ἄ δέοι, Oecon. ii. 4, xviii 1 δίδασκε οὖν εἴ τι ἔχεις με καὶ εἰς τοῦτο. εὐφροσύνη is one of the many poetical words used by Xen. See Index I for a list of such words. 13 ἀνθρώτους, generically 'mankind', cf. vii 9, viii 8. For the dat. see G. § 184, 5, HA. § 771.
- § 3 i. 14 τι οὖν...οὐχὶ σύ....ὑπέμνησάς με (for ὑπόμνησόν με), 'why do you not then at once recall to my mind?' The acrist with τι οὐ expresses a command or proposal in the more lively form of a question: cf. Cyrop. π i 4 with my note, vin iii 46 τι οὖν οὐχὶ...καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαίμονα ἐποίησας; and see HA. § 839. 15 τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδ. β. scil. εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας. 16 οὖτω=si hoc feceris, 'so', 'în this case' (i.e. if you remind me), stands in lieu of the proper protasis to ἀν δύνασθαι: cf. Mem. 1 ii 59 οὐ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ γὰρ ἐαντὸν οὕτω γ' ἀν ῷετο δεῖν παὶεσθαι, where οὕτω stands for εἰ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, and see (i. § 226, 1, HA. § 902. ἀν οἷμαι...δύνασθαι: G. § 136, N. 3, HA. § 940. On ἄν anticipated hyperbatically with οἶ μαι see my note to Cyr. 1 vi 18.
- § 4 l. 18 οὕτω δή, quamobrem, not 'spake thus', in reference to what follows. μèν δή, 'well then', introducing in a lively manner the full explanation of the proposed subject.
- 2 § 5 l. 23 τὰ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη, '(extremes of) cold and heat'. Abstract substantives are used in plural where instances of the quality are denoted in Greek just as in Latin; see Index I and my note on Cic. de off. i. § 78 l. 3.
 24 όλω τῷ σώματι: in opp. to the five organs of sense.
 - 24 όλφ τῷ σώματι: in opp. to the five organs of sense. Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. it § 141 tactus autem toto corpore aequabiliter fusus est, ut omnis ictus omnisque minimos et rigoris et caloris appulsus sentire possimus. 25 ήδεσθα...ἐπ'

αὐτοῖε: ἐπὶ is used of the antecedent cause or ground of any mental affection, where the simple dative of cause (HA. § 778 a) might be used; for an instance of the two constructions, cf. Anab. II vi 26 ὤσπερ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβεία..., οῦτω Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατῶν δύνασθαι.

27 ἔστι μὲν ὅτε...ἔστι δ' ὅτε, 'sometimes...at other times', HA. § 998 b. For the anaphora, cf. ii 15, iii 2. δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, 'with the mind alone'. Cf. Oecon. vii 8, xvii 15. 28 κοινῆ, una, 'jointly'; but in vii 9 it means publice.

- § 6 1. 30 δπως, indefinite relative, 'how', 'in what manner'; HA, § 1054, 3. There was a variety of opinions amongst philosophers of old-Alkmaeon, Empedokles, Aristotle -on the causes of sleep. 31 STIVE Kal STOTE, 'by what means' (not, as some, 'with what part', i.e. body or mind or both) and at what time' (i.e. when actually asleep or when falling asleep). μάλλον sc. ή δτι ήδόμεθα τῷ ὅπνω, not as Bernhardy takes it, 'more than is right'. 32 και ούδλυ--- έν τώ ΰπνφ, 'and yet this surely is not at all a matter of surprise. since the sensations produced by what takes place in a waking state are more distinct than those produced in a state of sleep': σαφεστέρας, being a predicate adjective, precedes the article. cf. 1. 42 and see G. § 142, 3, HA. § 618. Some take el for 8τι after a word expressive of wonder, see G. § 228, HA. § 926.
- § 7 1. 35 δγώ μέν, 'I for my part'. The μέν refers to an opposition which is understood without being expressly mentioned as in lows μέν, εἰκὸς μέν, οἰμαι μέν, δοκῶ μέν, ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν, which imply some possible different view or statement, cf. vii 4, xi 6. ἀπεκρίνατο—ξφη: On the pleonastic use of ξφη, φάναι, εἶπε, λέγει etc. see my n. on Oecon. viii 2.
- 36 ξω τούτων εν είρηκας: G. § 153, HA. § 994. Translate 'I cannot say how a despot could possibly be sensible of anything else beyond (lit. 'outside of') what (such pleasures and pains as) you have mentioned; and consequently thus far I do not know in what respect the life of a despot differs from that of a private person'.

 37 de algebra— ξοιμ' de: see note to § 1 l. 3.

a strong conclusion. μέχρι γε τούτου, 'so far at least', 'hitherto'. οὐκ οίδ' εἰ: haud scio an would have exactly an opposite meaning.

- § 8 1. 40 ἀλλά-διαφέρει: άλλά is often used, as here. in quick answers and objections. έν τοῖσδε = 'in this (the 41 πολλαπλάσια εύφραίνεται (scil. following) respect'. ό τύραννος τοῦ Ιδιώτου) = πολλαπλασίας εὐφροσύνας εὐφραίrerat: see G. § 159 Note 2, HA. § 716 b. We should have expected the explanatory γάρ after μέν; but this is often omitted. Cf. de ven. v 31: τεκμήριον δέ, ώς έλαφρόν έστιν · δταν άτρεμα διαπορεύπται, πηδά κτλ. τούτων i.e. the organs of 42 μείω τὰ λυπηρά έχει: cf. 1. 32 note. πολύ εὐφραίνονται, 'have much fewer pleasures and pains much more in number and greater in degree than private persons with moderate means (those in the middle ranks of life)'. For the position of mode of. the Latin plura multo, majora multo, ante multo, post paulo.
- § 9 1. 47 εί γαρ ούτω ταῦτ' είχε—ἐπεθύμουν, 'how comes it that so many would have desired if this had been the case (which it is not)?' G. § 222, HA. § 895. If we substitute for the interrogative $\pi \hat{\omega}$; its equivalent negative our, the superiority of the reading in the text, which is that of Stobaeos, over the vulgate Exec will carry conviction with it. 49 Kal Tarta, idque, 'and that too', often used with the participle when it stands in a concessive relation, HA. § 612 a. τών δοκούντων ίκανωτάτων άνδρών G. 8 277 Note 1 (b). clear, 'of those who are considered to be most competent persons'. The predicate-noun with είναι or γίγνεσθαι stands in the genitive when it is preceded by the genitive of a participle of a verb declarandi or sentiendi: cf. below ii 1, Plat. Apol. c. 7, c. 32 των φασκόντων δικαστών είναι, and see HA. 8 941, G. § 136 Note 3 (b), Madv. § 158. Βν ίκανω-Táruy Weiske and Schneider understand 'most rich and powerful')(των μετρίως διαγόντων, cl. de re eq. ii 1, τάττονται μέν ταρ δη έν ταις πόλεσιν Ιππεύειν οι τοις χρημασί τε Ικανώτατοι 50 πως δὲ πάντες: καλ της πόλεως ούκ έλάγιστον μετέγοντες.

whole clause.

obews beauar: cf. 1. 20.

I 9

- 8 10 1, 52 αμφοτέρων των έργων, 'of both conditions of life', i.e. the state of both the private man and the despot, This is better than to take $d\mu\phi o\tau \epsilon\rho\omega\nu$, as it is taken by Bremi, Frotscher and Sauppe, as a genitive dependent upon των ξργων 'the circumstances of each', cl. Anab. v v 18 βία οὐδὲν ἐλαμ-Βάνομεν των έκείνων, ΜΙ Υ 38 Κύρου ήσαν τοῦ έκείνου δούλου. Hell. vii i 13. For the above meaning of ξργον cf. Oecon, iv 5. περί αύτοῦ, scil. περί τοῦ τυραννείν. 54 everiber, scil. $d\pi \delta \tau \hat{\eta} s \delta \psi \epsilon \omega s$, inde, 'with that'. The order is δοκώ γαρ μεμνήσθαι (HA. § 944 a) και σε αρξάμενον εντεῦθεν λέγειν. The phrase φρξάμε νος ἀπό τινος, inde a, 'beginning with any person or thing', generally agrees in gender. number and case with the substantive, of which it defines and limits the sense, almost with an adverbial signification, as in Plato Theaet. p. 171 Β έξ ἀπάντων...ἀπδ...Πρωταγόρου άρξαμένων άμφισβητήσεται. See my note to Cyr. I vi 8 1.74 and Madv. § 176 (c) Rem. On the construction menunical -dožánevov see G. § 280, HA, § 982. 56 TOIS BLA THE
 - § 11 l. 57 εὐρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας, 'I find that they are worse off'. Observe that μειονεκτεῦν (the opposite to which is πλεονεκτεῦν) may be used either (1) absolutely or (2) with the dative (a) alone (l. 77) or (b) with έν as here, (3) with the genitive of the thing of which one falls short, as iv l. 3, (4) with genitive of person and dative of thing (l. 107, l. 111). μέν γε] see n. on viii 9. ἄλλα—ἐν ἄλλη χώρς, 'some things are worth seeing in one country, some in another'.

58 ἐπὶ τούτων ἔκαστα—συναγείρεσθαι, 'in quest of these several curiosities private men resort either to such cities as they may please for the sake of the sights in them, or to the national festivals, in which it is considered there is a collection of sights most worth seeing'. By πανηγόρεις are meant in particular the Olympian games in which Hieron so distinguished himself. Frotscher explains συναγείρεσθαι αὐτούς. Cobet suspects that there is something wrong here and that several words have been lost. See crit. n.

59 είς πόλεις ας αν βούλωνται: for είς πόλεις είς ας αν βούλωνται είναι; cf. Oecon. x 10 εί κατὰ χώραν έχει ήν δεί έκαστα for καθ' ήν, Cyr. 11 iv 11 with my note.

§ 12 1, 62 ού μάλα άμφι θεωρίας έχουσιν, have not much to do with', 'are not much concerned about public shows': of. Occon, vi 7 τους dμφί γην έχοντας, Cyr. viii iii 20 dμφί τους φίλους έχειν, Ιν ii 35 άμφι συσκευασίαν έχειν, Ιν ν 14 άμφὶ ταῦτα είγον, v i 30, v 44, v iv 10 άμφὶ τὰ αίχμάλωτα 64 dodahis, sc. torl. Every i. o. dularrew. Swov who the negative un is used because of the indefinite (implied) antecedent 'anywhere' (conditional relative clause); see G. § 231, HA. § 1021. κρείττονες των παρόντων. 'superior in strength to those present at them'. olko, 'their affairs at home'. G. § 141, Note 3, also § 190 Note 2, HA. § 666 a, also § 220. κέκτηνται έχυρά, ώστεάποδημείν, 'possess in sufficient security (G. § 142, 3, HA, \$ 618) to leave them in the charge of others while they are absent from their kingdom'. See note to 1.74. 66 φοβερον (sc. toth) un, 'it is to be feared lest'. 68 тишойσασθαι τους άδικήσαντας, 'to revenge themselves on those who do them wrong' (in deposing them), 'their aggressors'. TIMMPEIR is 'to assist one who has suffered wrong', 'to avenge' with the dative of the person avenged, the accusative of the person on whom vengeance is taken, and the genitive of the crime avenged; the middle τιμωρείσθαι is 'to avenge oneself upon', 'visit with punishment', with the accusative of the person and genitive of the crime. Plato de rep. rx p. 579 B draws a similar picture of the misery of a despot debarred from the privileges and pleasures of travelling and seeing men and manners, and confined to the prison of his own court: $\lambda(\chi\nu\psi)$ δὲ δντι αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνψ τῶν ἐν τῷ πόλει οὅτε ἀποδημῆσαι ἔξεστιν οὐδαμόσε οὅτε θεωρῆσαι ὅσων δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐπιθυμηταί εἰσι, καταδεδυκὼς δὲ ἐν τῷ οἰκία τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ζῷ, φθονῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, ἐάν τις ἔξω ἀποδημῷ καὶ τι ἀγαθὸν ὁρᾳ.

§ 18 l. 68 εἴποις α΄ν, potential opt. See n. to l. 3.
69 ἀλλ' ἀρα, 'but then surely'. τὰ τοιαῦτα: generic article, 'spectacles of this kind'; G. § 141 (d), HA. § 659.
70 και οἴκοι μένουσι, 'even when they stay at home'.
ναι μι Δία appears to serve not so much the purpose of affirming the preceding position, as of ushering in the subsequent objection. See Shilleto Dem. de fals. leg. App. πι.
71 δλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν (scil. ἐρχεται αὐτοῖς), 'only

a few out of the many that there are', partit. gen., G. § 168.

72 τοιαῦτα ὄντα, 'such as they are', scil, δλίγα. τίμια πωλείται, 'are sold at a high price'; on the use of predicate adjectives in apposition to the subject, where other languages use an adverb, see HA. § 619. 73 οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι και ότιοῦν, 'those who furnish any exhibition, ever so small'. άξιοῦσι, 'expect'. 74 λαβόντες άπιέναι, εεсит auferre, 'to go away with'. The participle here expresses the leading idea; cf. Cyr. 1 iv 13, 20, Anab. vii vii 53 ταῦτα λαβών απιθι, G. § 279, 4, HA. § 968 b. έν όλίγω χρόνω, 'within a short time'. Cf. Mem. I iii 13 ἐν τοσούτω χρόνω, de red. ίν 23 έν ξτεσι πέντε ή ξξ. 75 πολλαπλάσια—ἢ ὄσα κτώνται, 'many times—as great as they get'. Cf. Cyr. IV ii 37 δπως διπλάσια σίτα και ποτά παρασκευασμένα ή ή τοις δεσπόταις έποιεῖτε, with my note, de red, i 5 δρυσσομένη δὲ $(\gamma \hat{\eta})$ πολλαπλασίους τρέφει ή εί σίτον έφερε. The same thought might have been expressed also by πολλαπλάσια όσων κτώνται, such adjectives having the construction of comparatives: see G. § 175 Note 1, HA. § 755 a, and cp. Cyr. v ii 30, ym iii 38.

§ 14 l. 77 ἀλλά—γέ τοι, 'well—at any rate'. 'Αλλὰ is used with an adversative force in relation to a latent feeling

in the mind of the speaker. τοῖς θεάμασι, 'in respect of sights', see above l. 106, G. § 188 Note l, HA. § 780. 79 τοῦ ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος: cf. Cic. or. p. Arch. § 20 Themistoclen illum dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret: 'eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur'. 80 ὑμῖν may be regarded either as governed by παρόντες or as the dative belonging to the whole sentence rather than to any special word, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 771.

82 τοῦ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος: for the genitive after ἀνήκοοι, 'not hearing', see G. § 180 Note 1, HA. § 753 d. Cf. Mem. ii 31 τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαίνου ἐαυτῆς, ἀνήκοος εἰ. ἐπαίνου is in descriptive apposition with ἀκροάματος, HA. § 624 b. 83 κατ' ὀφθαλμούς, 'to his face'; cf. Arist. Ran. 626 ἴνα σοὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμούς λέγη, Soph. Antig. 760 κατ' ὁμματα, Eur. Andr. 1064 ἐλθεῖν κατ' ὁμμα. 84 κακηγορεῖν, 'to slander', 'speak evil of': see cr. n.

§ 15 l. 85 καὶ τί οἶει—εἰφραίνειν, 'but, pray, what pleasure do you think they give who don't speak evil of us?' On the emphatic καί before interrogative particles and pronouns see n. to l. 6, and on the use of the negative μή with the participle, G. § 283, 4, HA. § 1025 s. 87 οἱ σιωπώντες οὖτοι, 'these your silent men'; the participle with the article used substantively instead of a relative periphrasis of a person, see G. § 276, 2. πάντες κακόνοι εἰσί: see cr. n. 89 ϋποπτοι δουν—τοὐς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι, 'are suspected of bestowing their (G. § 141 Note 2) praises for the sake of flattering'. On the personal for impersonal construction see HA. § 944 a, G. § 280 Note 1, G. MT. § 93 Note 2 (b).

§ 16 l. 94 δράς and δράτε at the beginning, or paren thetically in the middle of a sentence, are used, without any influence on the construction, like Latin viden', 'do you see? don't you see?' in explanation, where the speaker assumes that his statement must command assent; cf. Arist. Nub. 355, Thesm. 496 ταῦθ', ὁρᾶς, οὐπώποτ' εἶπεν, Plat. Protag. p. 336 в ἀλλ', ὀρᾶς, ἔψη, δίκαια δοκεῖ λέγειν Πρωταγόρας. ἐκεῖνό γε, illud certe, 'this certainly', viz. what has yet to be mentioned.

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ούκ έτι, non item, non iam, 'not as in the other case'. So in Mem. IV iV 20, after several θεῶν νόμοι have been enumerated, Socrates says, οὐκέτι μοι δοκεῖ—οδτος θεοῦ νόμος εἶναι, Agesil. ii 26 Κότυς ἀπηλλάγη—. Μαύσωλός γε μήν—οὐκέτι ('not like the others') δείσας άλλα πεισθείς ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε, Oecon. xxi 11, Cyr. I V 8 l. 79 with my note. οὐκ ἀν πείσαις—οὐδίνα, 'you would not get any one to believe'. The protasis implied is, 'if you were to try', see n. to l. 3. 96 ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε, 'you enjoy yourselves in respect to them'. We should have expected a demonstrative reference (ἐν τούτοις), but cf. Cyr. viii viii 16 τὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν δσα τε πρόσθεν εὔρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται.

- § 17 1. 97 καί—γε, 'yes (I agree with you) and what is more'. τούτφ κρίνουσιν, 'judge by this fact' viz. $\delta \tau \iota$ $\delta \sigma \kappa \sigma \theta \sigma \iota \kappa \tau \lambda$. Cf. iv 8 ού γάρ $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ άριθμ $\hat{\varphi}$ τὰ πολλά κρίνεται.
- 98 ήδιον, libentius, 'with greater relish'; op. iii 2, viii 5.
 99 δοκοῦσι— ἐαντοῖς, 'they have a notion that they themselves also would have more pleasure in partaking of an entertainment served to us than of one served to themselves'. Η αρατιθέναι τινί is the technical term for 'setting a meal before a person', so οἱ παρατιθέντες are 'the serving-men', Cyr. viii viii 20, τὰ παρατιθένενα, 'the meats served', ii i 30, v ii 16. Cf. Arist. Ach. 85, Eq. 52 βούλει παραθῶ σοι δόρπον; 101 τοῦτο, emphatic, 'this it is which'. See G. § 152 Note 3, HA. § 996 b and op. §§ 21, 25, 32, de rep. Athen. i 2 οἱ κυβερνῆται—καὶ οἱ ναυπηγοί, οῦτοἱ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν δύναμν περιτιθέντες τῷ πόλει. 102 τὰς ήδονας, 'their enjoyment'; op. 1. 89.
- § 18 l. 102 ήδέως προσδέχονται, 'look forward with pleasure to', Apol. c. 33 Ιλαρῶς προσεδέχετο τὸν θάνατον.

 103 πλὴν οὐχ: see crit. n. 104 ἔκπλεω —παρεσκευασμέναι, 'since they have been always provided to the full, supplied with abundance'. For the predicate nominative see G. § 166 Note 4. οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπίδοσιν, 'do not admit any sort of addition', cf. Oecon. xx 23 οὐδὲν ἔχει πλείονα ἐπίδοσιν ἢ χῶρος ἐξ ἀργοῦ πάμφορος γιγνόμενος. 106 τῆ εὐφροσύνη

The idealose, 'the pleasure of (i.e. arising from) anticipation'. For εὐφροσύνη see n. on vii 4. 107 μειονεκτούσι τών **λλωτών**: see n. on l. 57.

- § 19 l. 107 excive, 'the following fact', l. 94. The acc. depends loosely upon Eureipos el (not on olda): see n. to Oecon. xvi 6, and cf. Cyr. III iii 9 έπιστήμονες ήσαν τὰ προσήκοντα. See cr. n. 108 δσφ, G. § 188, 2, HA. § 781. πλείω, predicate adjective; cf. l. 32 with note. 109 παραθήται, sibi apponi iubeat, 'has set before him', the middle in causative sense. Cf. Cyr. v ii 19. τά περιττά των ίκανων 'superfluities': $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \tau \delta s$ having a latent comparative force takes the gen., as in Cyr. VIII ii 21, 22 περιττά των άρκούντων. τοσούτω θάττον, eo citius. 110 τω χρόνω της ήδονης, 'in respect to the duration of the pleasure'.
- § 20 l. 114 προσίηται sc. τὰ παρατιθέμενα, 'approves'. 'likes' (what is served), i.e. as long as the appetite for food continues. The verb *pooleofal admits of a double construction: τοῦτό με προσίεται 'this likes me', and τοῦτο προσleμαι, 'I like, affect this'. Cf. Cyr. viii vii 4 τω δέ ή ψυχή σίτον οὐ προσίετο.
 - § 21 l. 117 τον ήδόμενου—τοῦτον: see n. to l. 101.
 - 1. 118 οὐκοῦν...... ἐρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου; 'do you imagine that the greater delight a man takes in any occupation, the more fondly he is attached to it?' The form of the sentence is like that of v 4 l. 30. Cf. Oecon, xii 15 έρωτικώς Εχουσι τοῦ κερδαίνειν, Cyr. III iii 12 έρωτικώς έγειν τοῦ πόπ ποιείν τι, and for the gen. see G. § 182, 1, and HA. § 756. 120 πάνυ μεν ούν sc. ο'ομαι, 'of course', 'unquestionably'. The most simple way of expressing an affirmative answer is by val; more strongly by πάνυ γε, πάνυ μέν οδν, πάντως δή, μάλιστα, καὶ μάλα, σφόδρα $\gamma \epsilon$, φημί, τί γ άρ; τί μήν; πῶς γ ὰρ οδ; and an answer in the negative by οδ, οὐ δητα, οὐδαμῶς, ηκιστα, πῶς; πόθεν; οὐ μέν οὖν, see below, l, 124. 121 τι--ήδιον, 'with at all greater pleasure'. So below ii 18 ovoév τι 'not at all', iv 7 θαττόν τι, Herod. IV 52 ουτω τι, Thuc. I 107 τό τι.

νοφῶν 'Ιέρωνι.

124 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐ μὰν οῦν scil. ὁρῶ. Stobaeos has οὐ μὰν δή. Cf. Cyr. v v 18 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί'—οὐ μὰν δή, 1 vi 9, 11 ii 22.
125 ἀγλευκέστερον) (ἤδιον, 'more sourly', 'with less pleasure'. Suidas s.v. 'Αγλευκὰς τὸ ἀηδὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶρηκεν ἐν τῷ Οἰκονομικῷ (viii 4). Δοκεῖ δὰ ξενικὸν τὸ δνομα, Σικελικόν πολὸ γοῦν ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ 'Ρίνθωνι. Καὶ ἀγλευκέστερον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀηδέστερον Ξε-

άν δόξειε: § 1 l. 3.

- § 22 l. 126 μηχανήματα, afterwards (l. 136) called σοφίσματα, 'skilful dressings of food', 'artificial stimulants to the appetite'. 128 στρυφνά, 'harsh', 'astringent'. τούτων άδελφά, 'akin to these', HA. § 754 d. 130 πάνυ μὲν οῦν scil. κατανενόηκα. καὶ πανύ γε, to be taken with παρὰ φύσων, 'quite unnatural'. See n. to ii 10.
- § 28 l. 132 άλλο τι οὖν...ἐπιθυμήματα, 'do you then suppose that these viands are anything else but objects of craving to an appetite sickly and weakened by indulgence?'

In my former editions I followed Cohet in accepting ταῦτα ἐδέσματα. the reading of M, so that Hieron's meaning should be 'do you think that these are (merely) estables or etc.'; but I now see that there are objections fatal to this interpretation. In the first place allo to oter, according to Platonic usage (see Hipparch, p. 226 Ε άλλο τι οξν οι γε φιλοκερδείς φιλούσι τὸ κέρδος, Euthyphr. p. 10 D αλλο τι φιλείται ὑπὸ θεων) can only mean nonne putas 'do you not think?' (G. § 282, 3, HA. § 1015 b), and in the second place we find that Xenophon does not use άλλο τι but άλλο τιή, as in Cyr. III ii 18 άλλο τι οὖν ή διὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς σπανίζειν ἀγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζετ' είναι; Anab. II v 10 άλλο τι αν η-άγωνιζοίμεθα; IV vii 5 άλλο τι ή οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; Oecon. i 16 άλλο τι ή τούτοις ούτε αί ἐπιστήμαι χρήματά είσιν ούτε τὰ κτήματα: I conclude therefore that we should stand by the common reading—the absence of $\tau \acute{a}$ in N may casily be accounted for by lipography—taking edeouara as the subject of elvas, not as its predicate, and giving if the meaning of quam, not aut.

134 ἐπιθυμήματα, 'objects of desire'. See iv 7, where cities, fields, harbours etc., which are coveted by kings, are opposed τοῖε ἰδιωτικοῖε ἐπιθυμήμασιν. 135 που, 'I presume', 'surely', used where the speaker puts something in a half-questioning manner. οὐδὲν προσδεόνται, 'do not at all require in addition'. The πρόε has here its adverbial, not a prepositional sense. Cf, iv 11.

- § 24 l. 137 άλλα μέντοι τούτων τούς πλησιάζοντας άπολαύων κτλ.. 'well certainly in the case of those expensive unguents with which we are familiar. I really do believe that those who are near your person have more enjoyment of them than you vourselves have, just as, in respect to disagreeable odours, it is not the person himself who has eaten (anything which emits a disagreeable odour) who is sensible of them, as those who come near him'. For the construction of aπολαύειν cf. Cvr. VII v 81 διψήσας των ήδίστων ποτών άπολαύσεται, Amphia Leuc. (Mein. Com. Fr. 111 p. 311) έξον άπολαύειν Ιγθύων άληθινών, Antiphanes Arch. (ib. III p. 22) απόλανε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, δόφει. Didym. (ib. p. 44) ἀπέλαυσα πολλών και καλών έδεσμάτων. Diodor, Epicler. v 19 (ib. p. 544) πάντων ἀπολαύσας τῶν πα-140 αγαρίτων: the reading αγαρίστων offends against Cobet's canon who (Nov. Lect. p. 420) says, 'perpetuo Veterum usu εθχαρις et εθχάριστος, άχαρις et άχάριστος sic distinguuntur ut animum gratum et ingratum habentes εὐχάριστοι et dyapio toi dicantur, sed venustus et scitus et elegans edyapis et enizapes nominetur, et azapes qui venustatis et elegantiae sit expers. Nauci non sunt formae ὁ ἡ ἀχάριτος, εὐχάριτος et ἐπιχάριτος a Graeculis imperite fictae. Probae sunt τοῦ ἀγάριτος, οἰ εύχάριτες, et sic τὰ ἀχάριτα et λέγειν οὐκ ἀχάριτα pro χαρίεντα'. 140 αὐτός, ipse. ὁ βεβρωκώς: see n. to l. 87.
- § 25 l. 143 τῶν σίτων, partitive genitive dependent upon παντοδαπά. Observe that the usual plural of ὁ σῖτοι is not οἰ σῖτοι but τὰ σῖτα. For the sentiment cf. Mem. IV V 9. 144 μετὰ πόθου, periphrasis for adverb. 145 τινός sc. σἰτου. For the emphatic οὖτοι cf. above l. 101. Hiero's meaning is:— '(You admit that the enjoyment of unguents is not after all so great). This is precisely the case with those who have constantly a variety of food set before them. They eat nothing with an appetite, whereas he who rarely meets with any delicacy, this is the man who takes his fill of it with enjoyment, whenever it comes before him'. Schenkl proposes to read τῶν τοιούτων for τῶν σίτων.

ΤŤ

CHAPTER II

Still, contends Simonides, there are other pleasures greater than those of sense. You despots have a considerable advantage over private men because you can conceive and readily execute great projects and can do most to benefit your friends and hurt your enemies; you have all the proud consciousness of superior might. You possess the greatest abundance and variety of possessions; you have at your command luxuries of all sorts, the finest chariots and horses, the most splendid arms, the most brilliant ornaments for your wives, the finest and most sumptuously furnished palaces and the most numerous, intelligent and valuable servants (§ 1—§ 2).

Hieron expresses his surprise that a wise man like Simonides should be misled by outward appearances and take the popular view of happiness and unhappiness. A despot's possessions and all that is reckoned of most value are displayed before the eyes of the vulgar; but they do not see the reality in the background, the evils to which he is exposed are concealed from them, lying as they do in the inmost recesses of his soul, where alone real happiness or misery resides (§ 3-8 5). A despot has less enjoyment from the greatest blessings incident to human life, such as peace, and more vexation from the greatest curses, such as war, than a private citizen: he is a slave in many things where a private man is free; he cannot in his own country, with safety to his person, freely pass from place to place, but must go about fully armed himself and with an armed escort, as if he were in an enemy's country (§ 6-8 8). Private persons on their return from a foreign expedition consider themselves safe at all events when they get back; not so despots, who find themselves then most surrounded by enemies. Or in case of an invasion, private men can retire within their fort for safety; but a despot does not find his home a castle, but must be on his guard there more than in any other place (§ 9-\$ 10). Again private persons can obtain a respite from war by a truce and by peace, but a despot can

never be at peace or trust a truce with his subjects (§ 11). For there are two kinds of war—there is that between state and state, and there is that between a despot and his subjects. Whatever ills arise from the first must be shared by despot and citizen alike (§ 12—§ 13). But a despot by his position is debarred from a share of the pleasures of a successful war (§ 14), which are very considerable (§ 15—§ 16). In the second kind of war—while suspecting every one as an enemy, he knows nevertheless that, when he has put to death the persons suspected, he has only weakened the power of the city (§ 17), and his confidence is not restored but he becomes more suspicious than before. His house is to him like a besieged camp, perpetually on the alarm against the open assaults or secret intrigues of enemies (§ 18).

- § 1 1. 2 πάνν—μικρά: see n. on 1. 7. 3 των δοκούντων ανδρών είναι: see n. to i 9 l. 49. For the emphatic use of ανήρ cf. vii 3 ανδρες δέ και ούκέτι άνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι, Cyr. v v 33 σύ μέν ανήρ φαίνει, έγω δέ ούκ άξιος άρχης, Hellen. VII i 24 ύπερεφίλουν τον Λυκομήδην και μόνον άνδρα ήγούντο. Arist, Ach. 76, Eq. 179. So in Latin vir: Cie. ep. ad Qu. fr. II 11 cum veneris, virum te putabo: si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo. Weiske is wrong in translating τών δοκούντων by illustrium, conspicuorum. See Prof. Jebb's note on Soph. Oed. R. 1191 ed. 2. 4 ékóvras: G. 8 138 Note 7, HA. § 619 a. μειονεκτούντας σίτων: see note to i 11. For δψων Heindorf on Plato Protag. § 100 suggests δομών, on the ground that the former is included in σίτων, and also in reference to i l. 22.
- § 2 l. 5 èv èκείνοις, 'in respect to what follows', cp. i l. 96.
 7 ἐπινοεῖτε, in animum inducitis. πλεῖστα—ἔχετε, 'possess—in greatest abundance', G. § 138 Rem. l. HA. § 618.
- 8 διαφέροντας άρετη 'of surpassing excellence'. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 11 vi 2 ή τοῦ ἴππου άρετη ἴππον τε σπουδαίον ποιεῖ καὶ ἀγαθὸν δραμεῖν καὶ ἐνεγεεῖν τὸν ἐπιβάτην καὶ μεῖναι τοὺς πολεμίους. The root of ἀρετή is ἀρ- 'to fit', from which are derived ἀραρίσκω 'I suit', ἄρθρον 'a joint', ἀρτύω 'I fit together', 'prepare',

- άριθμός 'reckoning' i.e. fitting numbers together in a series, άρτιος 'even', ἄρτι 'just', 'exactly', ἄριστος, ἀρέσκω, Lat. arma, armus, artus 'limb', artus 'tight', ars etc. For the epanaphora διαφέροντας μέν—διαφέροντα δέ cf. i 5, ii 15, iv 3 etc.
- 9 ὑπερέχοντα, egregium. 10 κόσμον, mundum muliebrem, Fr. parure. Cf. Oecon. ix 6 l. 36. και ταύτας, easque, 'and those too'. We find generally και ταῦτα idque (i 9), not so often a demonstrative agreeing with the preceding substantive; but of. below vii 8, Anab. II v 21 ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, Oecon. ii 5, Herod. III 73, 1 ἀρχόμεθα ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου καὶ τούτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος.

 11 κατεσκευασμένας τοις πλείστου ἀξίοις, 'with the most costly furniture'.
- 12 ἐπιστήμαις dρίστους, 'superior in accomplishments': dative of respect, HA. § 780. With πλήθει we must supply some word like διαφέροντας from άρίστους.

 14 ἀνήσαι, prodesse, G. p. 349.
- § 8 1. 17 οὐδίν τι, i 21 1. 12 note. μάλα is to be taken with δοξάζειν, and εὐδαίμονας εἶναι depends upon δοξάζειν, not upon δρών.

 18 δοξάζειν δρών, 'to judge by appearances that etc.'
- § 4 l. 20 πολλοῦ ἀξια, l. 11. εἶναι, to be taken with δοκοῦντα. dνεπτυγμένα (ἀναπτύσσειν), explicita, 'unfolded', 'revealed', predicate participle. On the use of the infinitive (θεᾶσθαι) as a sort of accusative of specification, see G. § 261, 2, HA. § 952. φανερά looks so much like a gloss on dνεπτυγμένα, that I have enclosed it in brackets as at least doubtful. See cr. n. 23 ἔνθαπερ i.q. ἐν αἰσπερ. 24 ἀπόκειται, abditur, 'is kept out of sight'.
- 7 § 5 l. 25 τὸ πληθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι: cp. Plato legg. p. 908 c σὲ δὲ λέληθε περὶ τούτου, where also the verb is used impersonally: the usual construction would be τοῦτο λεληθέναι τὸ πληθος, 'that this is unknown to the multitude'. 26 καὶ ὑμᾶς, 'you as well as they'. 27 δοκεῖτε, 'are considered'. 28 τοῦτο: see n. to i l. 101.
 - § 6 l. 31 ελάχιστον scil. μέρος, see G. § 170, 2 Note, and cf. l. 35.

- § 7 l. 33 αὐτίκα, 'for instance'; when the first instance that presents itself is urged. Cf. Occon, xix 18, Cyr. 1 vi 9. 34 ταύτης—τοις τυράννοις μέτεστιν, G. § 184, 2 Note 1 (a), HA, § 734. 35 ὁ δὲ πόλεμος μένα κακόν, scil. εἰ δοκεῖ εἶναι.
- 8 8 1, 36 τίθύς, i.q. αὐτίκα 1, 33, 'at the outset', 'to begin with'. It is followed by ἔπειτα δέ 1, 43. 37 τοις ιδιώταις Εεστιν-μηδέν φοβουμένους: On the accusative for the dative, as in agreement with the (understood) subject of the infinitive, see G. § 136 Note 3, and cf. Occon. i 4, Hell. IV i 35 Efecti ou μηδένα προσκινούντα-ζην, Mem. n vi 26 el έξην τοίς κρατίστοις συνθεμένους έπὶ τοὺς γείρους Ιέναι, Eur. Herael. 693 ώς μη μενούντα τάλλα σοι λέγειν πάρα, Plutarch Agis vi 2 συνέβαινε τοις πολλοίς, ωσπερ έπι δεσπότην ανομένους έκ δρασμού, δεδιέναι τον Αυκούργον, 38 πόλεμον πολεμή: G. & 159, HA, & 715, όποι αν βούλωνται, 'whithersoever they please', G. § 207, 2, HA. § 860. 39 μή τις-άποκτείνη: G. § 218, HA. § 887. 41 πολεμίας, seil. γης. youv, 'at all events', serves to confirm an assertion by giving the grounds ώπλισμένοι οζονται άνάγκην είναι διάγειν: άνάγκην for it. elvar, as is sometimes the case with δείν, χρήναι etc. after οίομαι etc., does not affect the construction of the clause: otherwise we must have had ώπλισμένους. Cf. Dem. de fals. leg. § 260 πνούμην-αύτδς περιείναι δείν αύτων, ib. § 337, Plat. Protag. p. 316 υ πότερον μόνος οίει δείν διαλέγεσθαι; 42 διάνειν BC. Tor Blov, vivere, acrum transigere, as in i 8, iv 2, vii 10, 43 συμπεριάγεσθαι, secum una circumducere.
- § 91. 45 αλλ' οὖν: 'the clause to which αλλά is opposed is sometimes in the form of an hypothetical protasis; so αλλ' οὖν, when the consequences of the former clause are to be signified. Plat. Phaed. p. 91 b εἰ δὲ μηδέν ἐστι τελευτήσαντι, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦτόν γε τὸν χρόνον ἤττον ἀηδής ἔσομαι'. Jelf Gr. § 774 obs.

 1. ἐπαιδάν ἐλθωσιν, 'after they have returned'. See G. MT. § 20 Note 1 p. 26. 48 ἴσασιν ὄντες: G. § 280, § 136 Note 4, HA. § 980, § 982.
- § 10 1.48 tàν δὶ στρατεύωσιν, -tàν -δοκῶσιν: an example of a conditional clause subordinate to a primary conditional

clause, where in some cases we should insert a copulative particle so as to make it a co-ordinate clause. Cf. Anab. III ii 31 ην δέ τις απειθή, ην ψηφίσησθε-κολάζειν, ούτως οί πολέμιοι πλείστον εψευσμένοι έσονται. Such instances of a conditional clause within a conditional clause are found also in Latin, see my n. on Cic. or. p. Sestio § 45 l. 31 ed. 2. 49 els την πόλιν: Cobet would read $\ell\pi l$, which of course would be the correct classical combination, but, as Sauppe remarks, 'positi els significatione contra exempla non pauca, maxime sequente hostium nomine, veluti Anab. r i 11, iii 5, m ii 16, rv ii 7', to which may be added Cyr. I v 14, III ii 9 αλαλάξαντες έθεον είς αὐτούς, Anab. III ii 16 έτολμήσατε σύν τῷ πατρώω φρονήματι lέναι els τούs 51 dana is opposed to the second hypothetical πολεμίους. protasis: see n. on l. 45. 52 νομίζουσι καθεστάναι: G. 8 134, 3, HA. § 940. 53 ovol, ne—quidem. 54 **ἐνταῦθα** δή και μάλιστα, ibi demum vel maxime, 'there of all places most'. On the intensive ral = German gar, see my n, on 8 Occon, i 19 and cp. below viii 7. 55 φυλακτέον: G. § 281. 2. HA. § 990.

§ 11 l. 56 δια σπονδών—γίγνεται πολέμου ανάπαυστε, 'a cessation of hostilities is brought about by means of a truce'.

58 τοὸς τυραννευομένους, 'the subjects of a despotic sovereign'.

59 αν—θαρρήσειε, 'would confidently rely on treaties', potential optative, i l. 3, HA. § 872. Observe that the participle πιστεύσας is the virtual primary predicate, HA. § 984.

§ 12 l. 59 καl—μὶν δή, et profecto iam, 'and further'. The μέν (=μήν) serves to strengthen the affirmation. See on vii 11. 60 σθς πολεμοῦσι: l. 38. 62 τούτων τῶν πολέμων: i.e. the wars between contending free states, and those between a despotic king and the people who have been forced by him into subjection, respectively. The gen. is partitive, depending upon δσα. But some with good reason understand δ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι to refer to πόλεμος: in that case the genitive must be referred to it. The vulgate δ σὺν ταῖς πόλεσι could not possibly mean 'war between states'. I should prefer to read δ ὧν ταῖς πόλεσι,

and in l. 68 oi δντες ταῖς πόλεσι. δ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι may = civis, as also in l. 68, the singular being used as opposed to δ τύραννος. The μέν in δσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπά is answered by the δ έ in δ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα l. 67.

- § 13 l. 64 èν ὅπλοις: For èν in the sense of 'wearing', 'equipped with', see my n. to Cyr. 11 i 16. 65 ἄν τι πάθωσι— ἐπὶ τούτοις: Such transitions from a singular collective noun to a plural are not uncommon: cf. below iii 4, v 4, vi 14, Cyr. 1 ii 2 ἡν δέ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνη, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπανέθεσαν, Oecon. xxi 9 δς ἄν—οὖτοι, and see HA. § 632.
- § 14 l. 66 μέχρι τούτου, 'thus far', cf. i l. 38. μεν δη is ordinarily used in dismissing one consideration and passing to another, cf. l. 92. Γσοι ες. είσιν. οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι may be for cives: cf. l. 62, but as there, so here, it might refer to πόλεμοι, i.e. 'wars between different states'. Weiske, Add. p. 454, proposed οἱ δντες πόλεσι (ες. πόλεμοι). οὐκέτι, non item. See n. on i l. 94 p. 38.
- § 15 l. 70 οὐ ράδιον sc. ἐστί. 71 ὄσην μέν—ὄσην δί: see n. to l. 8. τρέψασθαι, fugare, 'to put to flight'. Observe that the strong aor. τραπέσθαι is never used in this sense but always in that of 'to turn and flee'. 73 γαυροῦνται, 'pride themselves, exult', a poetical word, not found elsewhere in Xen.
- 74 ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, which Sturz renders sibi vindicant, can only signify, as Cobet points out, amissam (gloriam) recuperant, 'they recover lost credit'—a meaning which does not very well suit the context. The ἀνά may be easily ascribed to dittography, a frequent source of error. Cf. Plat. Phaed. p. 75 π. 75 πὴν πόλων νομίζοντες ηὖξηκέναι 'because they consider that they have enhanced (the power and glory of) their city'. The participle agrees with ol πολίται implied in al πόλεις 1, 69.
- § 16 l. 76 προσποιείται τῆς βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι, 'professes that he has had some share in the plan', G. § 170, 2.

 78 χαλεπόν scil. ἐστί. εὐρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονταί τι, 'to find an occasion on which they do not add some

falsehood': observe that ov, not $\mu \eta$, is used because the relative is not conditional, as in i 12 l. 64. 79 πλέονας φάσκοντες απεκτονέναι ή-αποθάνωσιν, 'pretending that they have put to death more than have really been killed'. dποθανείν does duty as the passive of dποκτείνειν. 80 ovrw, usque adeo. καλόν τι, pulcrum quiddam, 'a really fine thing', i.e. something certain in that way, though perhaps indescribable. See my n. on quidam. Cic. de off. т 8 95 1, 29, 81 το πολύ νικάν (G. § 258) i.q. πολλήν or μεγάλην νίκην νικάν, 'to win a great and decided victory'. Cf. Hipparch, viii 11 το γάρ πολύ νικάν ούδενὶ πώποτε μεταμέλειαν πάρεσχεν, Cyr. VIII iii 25 σύν μέν οθν τοις Πέρσαις αὐτός ήλασε και ένικα πολύ, Thucyd. 1 49, 5 ή δε αὐτοί ήσαν οί Κορίνθιοι. -πολύ ένίκων.

§ 17 l. 81 ύποπτεύση 80. άντιπράττοντάς τινας. 82 dyrimoáttovtas, see crit. app. 83 ούκ αύξει την πόλιν. in reference to 1. 75 την πόλιν νομίζοντες ηύξηκέναι, cp. 84 µuóvwv, pauciorum. φαιδρός, 'cheerful', a 9 favourite word of Xenophon's. 85 μεγαλύνεται, effertur, gloriatur. 86 meiol, verbis elevat, 'extenuates', Cyr. vi iii 17 μηδέ μείου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. 87 αμα πράττων, inter agendum, 'while acting'. 'The adverbs αμα and μεταξύ, in point of signification, belong in the first instance to the leading verb, but in the Greek idiom they usually attach themselves more closely to the participle', G. § 277 Note 1 (a), HA. § 976. 88 ovtws, usque adeo, as in l. 80.

§ 18 l. 90 οὐδέν τι μάλλον, 'not a whit the more': cf. iii 4 οὐδὲν ἦττον. 92 μὲν δή, 'thus then', to terminate the subject; the new subject being introduced by δέ, iii l. 1, see n. to l. 66. ξχων διατελεί: G. § 279, 1, 4 Note, HA. § 981. 93 οδον: see crit. n.

CHAPTER III

Again, friendship may be considered as one of the greatest blessings of life. But of this blessing no one has a less share than a despot, and whereas private men enjoy the pure delights of family affection, a despot's bitterest foes are often those of his own household, and, in proof of the fatal influence of despotical power on the tenderest ties of natural affection, you have only to look at the number of cases in which despots have slain their own sons or have themselves been slain by their own nearest relatives or the friends in whom they chiefly trusted,

- § 1 l. 1 φιλίας: The order is καταθέασαι δ' αδ ώς κοινωνοῦσιν οι τ. φιλίας. Observe that the emphatic word is placed first. καταθέασαι, considera, 'contemplate'. So Cyr. viii il 8 τοὺς άλλους θησαυροὺς καταθεῶ καὶ λογίσαι πόσα έστὶ χρήματα. ώς, quo modo. See cr. n. 2 εἰ, 'whether', G. § 282, 4, HA. § 1016. μέγα άγαθόν εc. ἐστί. 3 ή φιλία: G. § 141 Note 1 (b), HA. § 659.
- § 2 1. 3 γάρ merely serves to introduce the promised subject and is not to be translated in English.

 4 ήδίως μέν

 -- ήδίως δέ: cf. i 5, ii 2, 15.

 5 παρόντα ὁρῶσιν: G.

 § 279, 2.

 6 ἄν που ἀπῆ: G. § 219, 2, HA. § 1052.

 7 συνεπικουροῦσι, 'help to relieve him'.

 8 τι σφαλλόμενον scil. αὐτόν. See note to i 8.
- § 8 1.8 οὐ μὰν δή, minime vero; cf. Cyr. 1 vi 9, 11 ii 22, Soph. El. 103 ἀλλ' οὐ μὰν δἡ λήξω, Plat. Phaed. 266 βασιλικοί μὰν ἄνδρες, οὐ μὰν δἡ ἐπιστήμονές γε. 9 λέληθεν οὐδὰ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι, 'the fact has not escaped the notice of cities either, that', cf. Mem. 111 v 24. 10 γοῦν, 'at all events', in quoting an illustration, cf. ii 8 l. 41. 11 νομίζουσι—νηποινεὶ ἀποκτείνειν, 'have an established custom to put to death ('have a law that adulterers only may be slain') with impunity'. The second νομίζουσι means simply 'they think'. Cf. de rep. Lac. ii 4 καὶ ἀντί γε τοῦ ἰματίοις διαθρύπτεσθαι ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐνόμισεν ἐνὶ ἰματίω δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οῦτως καὶ πρὸς ψύχη καὶ ἰματίω δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οῦτως καὶ πρὸς ψύχη καὶ

πρὸς θάλπη ἄμεινον ἂν παρασκευάσασθαι, where in like manner νομίζων has a double import. 12 δήλον δτι, also written δηλονότι, 'it is clear that', 'evidently'. HA. § 1049, 1 a. διάταῦτα ὅτι, propterea quod. 13 λυμαντήρας: see note to vi 6. Cf. for the sentiment Lys. de caede Eratosth. § 32 f. τῶν μὲν γὰρ (μοιχῶν) ὁ νομοθέτης θάνατον κατέγνω, ἡγούμενος αὐτοὺς οὕτω τῶν ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν τὰς ψυχὰς διαφθείρειν, ὥστ' οἰκειοτέρας αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

- § 4 l. 15 σταν αφροδισιασθή—γυνή, 'whenever a wife is guilty of an act of infidelity'. κατά συμφοράν τινα, 'by some (unfortunate) concurrence of circumstances'. Cp. Arist. Eq. 130 όδι προσέρχεται ώσπερ κατά θεδν είς άγοράν, Αν. 544 κατά δαίμονα καί τινα ξυντυγίαν άγαθήν, Eccl. 114 κατά τύγην τινά, in all which quotations kard with the acc. denotes the manner. and forms a periphrasis for an adverb. ούδὲν ήττον, 'not a whit the less'. The datives τινί, οὐδωνί are never used with comparatives, whereas we have ολίγω, πολλώ by the side of ολίγον and πολύ, HA. § 719, § 781 a. 16 αὐτάς ες. τὰς γυναίκας. to be understood from preceding γυνή: see n. on ii 13. 17 ακήρατος (ά, κεράννυμι) integra, 'inviolate': this may be added to the list of poetical words employed by Xen.
- § 5 l. 18 τοσοῦτόν τι: see n. to ii 16. 19 αὐτόματα 'spontaneously', 'without being sought', predicate adjective = adverb. Cf. Ar. Ach. 976 αὐτόματα πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τῷδέ γε πορίζεται, Crat. Πλουτ. 6 αὐτόματα τοῖσι θεὸς ἀνίει τὰ γαθ ά.
- § 6 l. 21 και τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος: και is not to be taken with τοίνυν but with τούτου, 'this possession also'.
- 10 22 πάντων μάλιστα, 'more than all'; it is better to take πάντων as masculine and not as neuter. See my n. on Cyr. 1 iv 2.
 - § 7 l. 25 yover σ post σ parathas, 'between parents and children'. The $\gamma \delta \rho$ refers to the preceding $\delta \delta \epsilon$ (cf. l. 3), the $\mu \epsilon \nu$ to a suppressed clause. See on viii, 9.
 - § 8 1. 28 εὐρήσεις μὲν τοὺς ἰδιώτας, for εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν ίδ., which is the reading of Stobaeos. 29 ὑπὸ τούτων, 'by

these relations', i.e. parents by children, and children by parents, etc. πάντων belongs to μάλιστα as in 1, 22. 30 πολλούς in partitive apposition to τυράννους: G. § 137 Note 2, HA, § 624 d. 31 απεκτονότας: the form απεκτονηκότας. (from amouroveir), retained by Breitenbach, is justly condemned by Cobet and Veitch as unclassical. 32 aurous, intensive, by Tupayviory, 'in despotic governments'. λοφόνους: he is probably referring to the myth of Eteokles and 34 ὑπὸ γυναικών των ἐαυτών: The murder of Polyneikės. Alexander of Pherae by his wife Thebe, daughter of Jason, took place in B.c. 357, Hell, vi iv 35: the Hieron was probably composed about B.C. 394. 35 καί-νε, 'aye and', i 17.

τῶν μάλιστα δοκούντων φίλων είναι, 'who were reckoned especial friends'. See n, to i 1.49.

'The third chapter of Plutarch's life of Demetrius Poliorkêtês presents a vivid description of the feelings prevalent between members of regal families in those ages. Demetrius, coming home from the chase with his hunting javelins in his hand, goes up to his father Antigonus, salutes him and sits down by his side without disarming. This is extolled as an unparalleled proof of the confidence and affection subsisting between the father and the son. In the families of all the other Diadochi (says Plutarch) murders of sons, mothers and wives were frequent-murders of brothers were even common, assumed to be precautions necessary for security. Ούτως άρα πάντη δυσκοινώνητον ή άρχη και μεστύν απιστίας και δυσνοίας, ώστε αγάλλεσθαι τον μέγιστον τών Αλε-Εάνδρου διαδόχων και πρεσβύτατον, ότι μη φοβείται τον νίον άλλα προσίεται την λόγχην έχοντα του σώματος πλησίον. Ου μην άλλά και μόνος, ώς είπειν, ο οίκος ούτος επί πλείστας διαδοχάς των τοιούτων κακών εκαθάρευσε, μάλλον δέ είς μόνος τών ἀπ' 'Αντιγόνου Φίλιππος ἀγείλεν υίαν, Αί δε άλλαι σχεδον άπασαι διαδοχαί πολλών μεν έχουσι παίδων, πολλών δε μητέρων φόνους καί γυναικών' το μέν γάρ άδελφούς άναιρείν, ώσπερ οί γεωμέτραι τα αίτήματα λαμβάνουσιν, ούτω συνεχωρείτο κοινόν τι νομιζόμενον αίτημα καί βασιλικον υπέρ ασφαλείας. Compare Tacitus Hist. v 8 about the family feuds of the kings of Juduea ',-GROTE Hist. of Greece Vol. XII p. 6 note 3, ed. 1,

§ 9 1. 36 τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων φιλεῖν κτλ. quos ipsa natura ad amandum compellit et lex cogit, 'those who are naturally born to love and who have been constrained withal by usage'. Cf. Cyr. v i 24 βασιλεύς ξμοι γε δοκεῖς σὺ φύσει πεφυκέναι.

38 πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ τινος κτλ. 'how are we to suppose that they are loved by any one else?' The γε emphasizes ἄλλου. For oterθαι χρή σρ. Cyr. IV ii 28.

CHAPTER IV

Again, mutual confidence is another great blessing, necessary to social life and happiness, but no one partakes less of this than a despot, who can so little count upon good faith, that he must cause all his food to be tasted by others before he can eat it himself (§ 1—§ 2).

Moreover private persons are greatly indebted to their native cities for the protection of life and property afforded by them; but it is not so with despots; there is no such immunity from danger for them, since tyrannicides are everywhere honoured and recompensed (§ 3—§ 5).

A despot does not derive more enjoyment from his possessions, because they are greater than those of private men; for he measures himself by the standard of other despots whom he cannot bear to see wealthier than himself (§ 6).

Nor are the wishes of a despot more readily satisfied than those of a private man; the objects of his ambition being altogether of a higher kind are more difficult of attainment (§ 7).

There are, in fact, more really poor kings in proportion than there are poor private persons, for an abundance or sufficiency is not to be estimated by the actual amount of our possessions but by the exigencies of our station; and despots are not at liberty to retrench their expenses, as private men are. The men who are to be pitied as poor, are not those who have all their wants supplied by fair and honest means, but those who are forced to supply their necessary wants by degrading acts and acts of injustice; and such are despots, who must have recourse to robbery and extortion, oppression and sacrilege, that they may be enabled to maintain an army for the protection of their lives (§ 8—§ 11).

§ 1 l. 1 dll $\mu\eta\nu$, 'then, again'. μ eréxe: see note to ii 6. 4 η seta sc. $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau l$. $\tau\eta$ s $\pi\rho$ ds dll η lous, 'without mutual trust'. μ evos= ϵl $\dot{\alpha}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\hat{\iota}\tau$ a ι G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902.

2 ἐλάχιστονἄνευ πίστεως7 ἀπιστού-

- \$ 2 1. 7 τούτου τοῦ πιστώς έχαν of this attitude of a trustful disposition towards others'. Ral Toutou se. The Tiorews would have been sufficient without any epexegetic clause and του πιστώς έγειν πρός τινας does not satisfy the sense. which requires rather του πιστούς πρός <αύτόν > τινας έγειν οι τού πιστούς τινας είναι. Hence Cobet considers the clause to have been originally a gloss; see crit. n. 9 όπότε νε. quandoquidem, 'inasmuch as'. Cf. below viii 7, Cyr. n ii 13, VIII iii 7 μένας σύ νε, όπότε νε καὶ ημίν τάξεις α αν δέη ποιείν. Anab. VII vi 11 πάντα μέν άρα ανθρωπον δυτα προσδοκάν δεί. όπότε γε και έγω νον υφ' υμών airlas έχω. ούδέ, ne-quidem. διάνει: cf. i 8. 10 πρίν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, i.e. before the commencement of a feast, which began with libations to the τούτων - ἀπογεύσασθαι, 'to take a taste of these'. G. 171, 2. 11 κελεύουσιν, sc. of τύραννοι, to be understood from τυρώννω l. 8. See n. to ii 13. 12 μήdaywow: On μή 'lest' in sentences denoting 'precaution'. 'suspicion', see G. § 218, HA. § 887. For the sentiment cp. Aesch, c. Timarch, § 5 τὰ μέν τῶν δημοκρατουμένων σώματα καὶ την πολιτείαν οι νόμοι σώζουσι, τὰ δέ τών τυράννων και τών δλιγαρχικών άπιστία καὶ ή μετά τών δπλων φρουρά.
- § 3 l. 13 al πατρίδες 'their native states'. τοις μέν άλλοις, answered by τοις δὲ τυράννοις l. 22. For the dative ep. 11 Aristoph. Ach. 8 άξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι. 14 άξιαι, sc. εἰσί. 15 δορυφοροῦσιν άλλήλους—ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, 'act as a bodyguard to each other against their slaves'. Cf. Thuc. 1 130, Herod. 11 168, vii 127: the verb is used with the dative in Cyr. vii v 84, Polyb. xxxii xxiii. 17 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα—ἀποθνήσκειν, 'in order that none of their fellow-citizens may perish by a violent death'. For this sense of ὑπέρ 'with a view to' ep. Isocr. Areopag. § 64 ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιείν τὸ προσταττόμενον, Panath. § 80 πολεμείν—ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων.
 - § 4 l. 18 οῦτω πόρρω προεληλύθασι φυλακῆς, eo providentiae progressi sunt, 'they have gone so far in precaution'. This is a partitive genitive with an adverb of place, denoting a point in and of the whole, cp. Plat. Gorg. p. 484 c

54

πόρρω της ήλικίας, 'far advanced in years', ib. 486 a τοὺς πόρρω σοφίας ἐλαύνοντας. It is to be distinguished from πόρρω 'far from', G. § 182, 2, HA. § 757. 19 τῷ μιαιφόνφ —τὸν συνόντα, G. § 187. By transposition of τῷ μιαιφόνφ from its proper place between τὸν and συνόντα additional emphasis is thrown upon the word. 20 δια τὰς πατρίδας, 'by means of their (respective) native states'.

- § 5 1. 22 και τοῦτο ξωπαλιν ανέστραπται, 'this again has been reversed', 'in this case also it is quite the reverse'. Cf. Cyr. VIII viii 13 και ότι γε οι παίδες... εδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαιότητα, και τοῦτο παντάπασιν ανέστρα πται h.e. contra-23 άντι τοῦ τιμωρείν αὐτοίς, εc. τοῖς τυράνrium accidit. vois, 'instead of avenging them'; see n. to i 12 l, 68. dποκτείναντα τὸν τύραννον 'the tyrannicide', G. § 276, 2, HA. 25 καί—γε, 'aye and', cf. iii 1. 35. τῶν ἰερῶν: cf. Soph. Oed. T. 236 ff. 26 άντι τούτου, вее n. to i 17 l. 101. 27 elkóvas: Xen. is doubtless thinking of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the murderers of Hip-28 τῶν τοιοῦτό τι ποιησάντων ες. τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τον τύραννον: ποιείν with τοῦτο or ταῦτα is often used vicariously for other verbs to spare the repetition of them, like Latin id facere; see my n. on Cic. de off, r i 4.
- § 6 1. 28 8 8è σè σ'el] see crit. not. 29 tywy, because he possesses', G. § 277, 2. The addition of Sid Touto more exactly denotes the relation of the participle to the principal action. Cf. Anab. I vii 3 νομίζων κρείττους πολλών βαρβάρων ύμας είναι διά τοῦτο προσέλαβον, where διά τοῦτο similarly takes τιρ νομίζων. VII i 9 έπισιτισμού δεόμενοι και ούκ έγοντες διά τοῦτο άθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. 30 πλείω απ' αντών (scil. των κτημάτων) εὐφραίνεται, 'receives more enjoyment from them'. ouble touto outwe exer, 'this is not so either', i.e. this is not true any more than the other supposition. οί dθληταί-τοῦτ' αὐτούς εὐφραίνει: an irregular sentence which should have run thus: of άθληταί, οὐχ ὅταν—κρείττονες, τούτω εὐφραίνονται. For this not uncommon anakoluthon of a period beginning with the nominative and passing afterwards

over to another case comp. Oecon. i 14 οι δε φίλοι, ήν τις επίστηται αυτοις χρήσθαι,...τι φήσομεν αυτους είναι;

32 ίδιωτών, 'those who are not athletes'. 'Ιδιώτης is a negative term, the exact import of which depends upon the context. Like the English word 'layman', it means 'an unprofessional man', 'amateur'. Here it is opposed to an 'athlete', as in Mem. III vii 7 των ἀσκητων ('trained athletes') όντα κρείσσω τους ίδιώτας φοβείσθαι, Hipp, viii 1 ώστε αὐτους μέν άσκητάς φαίνεσθαι τών πολεμικών έν Ιππική ξργων, τούς δέ πολεμίους ίδιώτας: elsewhere to a physician as in Thuc. 11 48, 2 και laτρòs και ιδιώτης; to a seer as in Anab. vi i 31 οί θεοί ούτως έν τοίς Ιεροίς έσημηναν, ώστε και ίδιώτην αν γνώναι: to a poet, Plat. Symp. p. 178 ύπ' οὐδενὸς οὅτε ἰδιώτου οθτε ποιητοῦ; to a musician, Plat. Protag. p. 327 c ώς πρὸς τούς ίδιώτας και μηδέν αὐλήσεως έπαζοντας; to a craftsman. Plat. Theag. p. 124 c των τε δημιούργων και ιδιωτών: to a δήτωρ. Aesch. c. Timarch. § 2 οὐ μόνον περί τῶν ίδιωτῶν ἀλλά καὶ περί των δητόρων. Cf. Oecon. iii 9 ιδιώτης τούτου τοῦ έργου (rei equestris), Cic. or. p. Sest. 51, 110. 32 Kpelttoyes— httoys; note the occurrence of the two different forms in close proximity.

- 35 δταν—φαίνηται έχων, 'whenever he is seen to possess' i.e. 'manifestly possesses'; δταν φαίνηται έχειν would mean 'whenever he seems to possess' ('though he may not really possess'). 37 τούτω scil. $τ\hat{\omega}$ έχειν έλάττω. 38 ἀνταγωνιστάς, predicate accusative, G. § 166, HA. § 674.
- § 7 l. 39 οὐδέ γε, 'no, nor yet'. Cf. above l. 25. τι—ἀν ἐπιθυμεῖ, i.e. τι—τούτων ἀν ἐπιθυμεῖ according to Bre.tenbach, but I prefer taking τι with θᾶττον (cf. i 2), and understanding ταῦτα as the subject of γίγνεται. 41 οἰκίας ἢ ἀγροῦ ἐπιθυμεῖ, 'covets (no more than) a house or a field'.
- . 12 44 χαλεπώτερα—κατεργάσασθαι, 'more difficult and hazardous of accomplishment', G. § 261, 2, HA. § 952 a. 45 ἐπιθυμημάτων, 'objects of desire', i 23.
 - § 8 l. 45 άλλα μέντοι και: ἀλλὰ μέντοι generally signifies that, although from what has gone before, it might not be expected, yet such or such a thing is so; but it is also used where there is no such contradiction between the

46 πένητας, 'poor')(πλουσίους, Cf. Mem. sentences. ΙΥ ii 37 τους μέν, οίμαι, μή Ικανά έχοντας είς α δεί τελείν πένητας, τούς δὲ πλείω τών Ικανών πλουσίους. The meaning is 'you will see not so much a few private persons poor, as many despots so', you will find but few that are really poor amongst private persons, in comparison with those (who may be called so) amongst despots; but it is, at best, an awkwardly constructed sentence. See crit. n. Weiske (Add. p. 454) takes the meaning to be: Non tanta paucitas est pauperum inter privatos, quanta multitudo inter turannos, h. l. illorum paucitas minus mirabilis est quam horum multitudo. 47 τῷ ἀριθμῷ: the dative of the standard according to which anything is measured, judged of, or done. Cf. Herod, VII 237 τοῖσι λεγομένοισι σταθμώμενος. Dem. p. 113, 10 είπερ οίς πρός τους άλλους πεποίηκε δεί τεκμαίρεσθαι. For the sentiment and line of argument, cf. Anab. VII vii 36 οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμός ἐστιν ὁ ὁρίζων τὸ πολύ καὶ τὸ δλίνον, Oec. ii 2 ff. 48 τα πολλά-τα iκανά, 'an abundance'-'a sufficiency', i.e. what comes up to the right quantity, from the root fix whence come vicus 'the place where people come and go', olkos 'house', villa=vicula, 'country-house', vicinus, English 'wick' etc. πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις, 'according to the exigencies' of our station, 'in reference to the uses made of 49 ώστε τα μέν ύπερβάλλοντα κτλ.. 'consequently (i 7) whatever exceeds a sufficiency is much, while that which falls short of a sufficiency is little'. Cp. The Spectator No. 574.

§ 9 l. 51 τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια—οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, 'much more ample revenues are not as sufficient to the despot for his necessary disbursements as to a private person; for private persons may curtail their daily expenses in what way they please, but for despots it is not possible to do so'.

53 τὰς δαπάνας—εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν] cf. note on x 8.

56 τῆς ψυχῆς, 'their life': cf. vii 12. 58 δλεθρος δοκεῖ εἶναι, mortis instar videtur. Cf. Cic. de off. ii § 69 clientes appellari mortis instar putant, or. p. C. Sest. 54, 115 ei plausum immortalitatem, sibilum mort em videri necesse est, or. p. L. Flacco 8, 19 quibus odio sunt nostrae secures, portorium morti.

§ 10 1. 59 dad tou director, 'by just means'. So ex

τοῦ δικαίου Arist. Av. 1435, Thuc. 11 89, Xen. Hell. vi v 16.
τί αν οἰκτείροι τις; potential optative, G. § 226, 2 (b), HA.
§ 872. Καιν δσων δίονται i.e. τοσαῦτα ὅσων δίονται.

- 61 μηχανώμενοι ζην, 'to live by contriving', 'to plot in order to live'; the participle contains the leading idea of the expression, as in i 74 λαβόντες ἀπιέναι, ii 11 πιστεύσας θαρσήσειε. For the allusion see Introduction p. xxxix.
- § 11 l. 64 πλείστα, plerumque 'very often'. 65 δια τὸ -προσδείσθαι χρημάτων, 'because they require additional supplies'. 67 ἢ ἀπολωλέναι, 'or else to forfeit their lives': $\mathring{\eta} = \epsilon l \ \ \, \delta \dot{\epsilon} \ \, \mu \mathring{\eta} \ \, i.e. 'if they do not keep an army': cp. Oecon. ii <math>\ \, 5 \ \, (\pi \rho o \sigma \mathring{\eta} \kappa \epsilon l \ \, \sigma o \iota) \ \, \pi o \lambda \mathring{l} \tau as \ \, \delta \epsilon l \pi v \mathring{l} \epsilon l \nu$ $\ \, \tilde{\eta} \ \, \tilde{\epsilon} \rho \eta \mu \rho \nu$ $\sigma \nu \mu \mu \mathring{\alpha} \chi \omega \nu \ \, \epsilon l \nu \alpha \iota$, Thuc. II 63, 1, Eur. Electr. 307 f. $\ \, \alpha \mathring{\upsilon} \tau \mathring{\eta} \ \, \ell \kappa \mu \alpha \chi \vartheta \sigma \mathring{\upsilon} \sigma \alpha \kappa \epsilon \rho \kappa \mathring{\iota} \sigma \iota \nu$ $\ \, \tilde{\eta} \ \, \gamma \nu \mu \nu \mathring{\upsilon} \nu \ \, \ell \xi \omega \ \, \sigma \mathring{\omega} \mu \alpha \kappa \alpha l \ \, \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \mathring{\eta} \sigma \iota \mu \alpha \iota$, Jebb Selections from Attic Orators p. 216 § 27 with note ed. 1.

CHAPTER V

Another hardship for despotic sovereigns is that, their power being founded on injustice, the destruction of the best and most estimable citizens must be their ruling policy and none but the worst are left to serve them (§ 1-§ 2).

Again even a despot must be patriotic, as he cannot be safe or happy independently of the state, and yet he is compelled to cast a slur upon it by discouraging warlike habits and tastes in his countrymen, and employing mercenary foreign soldiers for the protection of his person (§ 3).

Moreover he does not rejoice with his people when there is a full harvest and abundance of provisions, because it is his interest rather to keep his people in indigence, that they may be more submissive; for he is most afraid of a rebellion among them when they are most prosperous (§ 4).

§ 1 l. 2 μλν—86, 'although—yet'. γdρ: see n. to iii 2. 3 κοσμίους, modestos, 'law-abiding'. Cf. Arist. Pl. 89 τούς δικαίους και σοφούς και κοσμίους. The same class are referred to in l. 5 as ανδρείους; hence Cobet prefers αλκίμους the

reading in Stobaeos. dvrl τοῦ ἀγασθαι, 'instead of admiring'. On the limitations to the use of the articular infinitive with prepositions see my n. on Occon. xiii 6. 5 τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους—τοὺς δὲ σοφούς are in partitive apposition to 13 τούτους: cf. iii 8. 8 προστατεῖσθαι, regi, 'to be governed'.

- § 2 l. 8 όταν—ὑπεξαιρώνται, 'whenever they exclude, except, such characters because of the fear they have of them'.
- 10 χρησθαι 'for use', the infinitive (as an indirect object) denoting the intent of the action: G. § 265, HA. § 951.
- dλλ' ¶, nisi, 'except', only used after a negative or quasinegative in the main construction. See my n. on Oecon, ii 13. By the ἀλλά the exception to the negative (or interrogative) which has preceded is stated flatly; the η allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception alone. Riddell, Digest of Platonic idioms § 148 g, p. 175.
- 11 dκρατείς, 'wanting in self-control')(σοφοί = σώφρονες.
 Cp. Mem. III ix 4 σοφίαν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν.
- 12 φοβοῦνται τὰς πόλεις μήποτε κτλ., for φοβοῦνται μήποτε αι πόλεις κτλ., the subject of the accessory sentence being anticipated as the object of the principal clause: so Xen. Hell. VI iv 32 ἔδεισαν—-τὸν Ἰάσονα μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.
- 14 εγκρατείς αὐτῶν, eorum compotes, 'masters of them' scil. τῶν ἀδίκων, the personal pronoun serving as indirect reflexive: see HA. § 684 a. τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἔξουσίας ἔνεκα, 'for the sake of license for the moment', i.e. they are satisfied with any government under which they can enjoy a certain amount of license and indulgence. 15 ἀνδραποδώδας, servili ingenio praediti, 'slavish' opposed to ἐλευθέριοι (Arist. Eth. Nic. iv viii 5). 16 οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦσιν, ne ipsi quidem volunt, 'they are not either themselves desirous'.
- § 8 l. 21 σώζεσθαι 'to do well, prosper'. Cf. de rep. Lac. 9, 2 έπεται τῆ ἀρετῆ σώζεσθαι είς τὸν πλείω χρόνον, Plutarch de disc. ad. ab am. 74 c with Wyttenbach's note, Plato legg. Ix p. 662 F ἐν ἀνθρώποις μέλλουσιν σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν. οῦτ' ἀν εὐδαιμονεῖν scil. δύναιτο. 22 ταῖς ἐαντῶν: for the transition from singular to plural cf. ii 13, iii 4.

23 εγκαλείν, 'to blame, cast a slur upon'. roùs τυράννους is understood after ἀναγκάζε. Cf. Cyr. νιι ii 22 οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν ταῖς τύχαις. Sturz in v. observes that this passage requires the sense spernere or odisse or timere rather than conqueri.

ούτε άλκίμους χαίρουσι παρασκευάζοντες, 'they take no pleasure in rendering them either brave or etc.' Cf. Oecon.
▼ 15 τοὺς έργαστῆρας προθύμους παρασκευάζειν, Mem. III iv 8 τοὺς άρχομένους κατηκόους παρασκευάζειν εὐπειθεῖς τε ἐαυτοῖς.

26 τούτοις χρώνται δορυφόροις, 'make use of these as a body-guard'. Mark the difference between this and τούτοις χρώνται τοῖς δορυφόροις. The apposition of a predicate noun, that may be resolved by 'as', is rarely found with the objects of a verb which are not in the accusative, except with χρῆσθαι (dative) and τυγχάνειν (genitive) as Anab. v v 15 ἐρωτῶτε τοὺς Τραπεζουντίους, ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον, 'what sort of people they found us'.

§ 4 l. 27 αν for tay=el dν, G. § 219, 2. εὐετηριῶν, (εῦ, ἔτος, annus) 'good seasons' (for the produce of the earth).
28 οὐδὶ τότε, ne tunc quidem. συγχαίρει, sc. τοῖς πολίταις.
29 ἐνδεεστέροις...ταπεινοτέροις, quo egentioribus—eo summissioribus, 'the more needy—the more submissive', 'submissive in proportion to their indigence'. Cf. i 20 l. 118. 30 οἴονται χρῆσθαι, 'they expect to find them'. For the transition from the singular to plural cf. above l. 23.

CHAPTER VI

Hieron then proceeds to describe the pleasures which he enjoyed, as a private man, but from which he is altogether debarred as a despot, with the anxieties to which he is subject in his present position. 'I used' he says 'to converse familiarly with and to take pleasure in the society of my equals in age and they in mine: I could do as I pleased, enjoy occasional solitude or forget the chagrins of life in convivial mirth, and give myself up to the delights of music and the dance. But now I have no familiar friends to delight in my society, none but slaves for my companions, and I have myself lost all pleasure in the society of

my former companions, because I see no sympathy in them towards me. I have to guard against excess in drink and sleep, as against insidious foes (\S 1— \S 3). I am in continual alarm whether in a crowd or in solitude, I am in fear without guards, and am afraid of the guards themselves. What a wretched state of existence is this! To place greater confidence in strangers than in one's own fellow-citizens, in Barbarians than in Greeks, to be compelled to treat freemen as slaves and slaves as freemen, is a sign of a mind deranged by fear. This passion of fear not only produces constant uneasiness but poisons life and mars all its enjoyment. Despots are even worse off than commanders who have to face the enemy, for they fancy that they see enemies not only in front of them but surrounding them on all sides and at all times (\S 4— \S 8).

Simonides replies: 'War is undoubtedly subject to continual alarms, but when we are in the field, we first post our sentinels, and then we can eat and sleep in security' (§ 9).

'No doubt' says Hiero, 'for the guards do their duty through fear of the laws; but despots have only mercenaries for their guards, whom they pay as they do their harvest labourers, and though the principal duty of guards is to be faithful to their trust, yet, for one faithful guard, you will find hundreds of faithful workmen in any branch of business; especially when these guards enlist themselves for the sake of the stipend; and have it in their power to gain a much larger sum in a short time by assassinating their master, than they would receive from him for many years' faithful attendance' (§ 10—§ 12).

'As to despots being better able to serve their friends and suppress their enemies—this is also a mistaken notion. For how can you think to serve friends when you know that he who is under the greatest obligation to you will be the most delighted to withdraw himself from your sight and to avoid further intercourse with you? for no one considers what he has received from a despot as his own, until he has escaped from his power. Then as for his enemies, he knows that all men are his enemies who are subject to his power; and, if he could get rid of them all by killing or imprisoning them, whom would he have left to govern? So that he must be on his

guard against them, and yet at the same time make use of their services. Those of his subjects whom he dreads he cannot bear to see alive, and yet it is a sore trial to him to put them to death. There are also many other possessions which, though useful, are sources of trouble to their possessors, and yet they cannot lose them without regret' (§ 13—§ 16).

- § 1 l. 1 κάκείνας by crasis for και ἐκείνας. 2 εὐφροσύνας, see n. to vii 4. ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος—στερόμενος
 αὐτῶν, quibus ego usus, dum eram privatus, nunc, postquam
 tyrannidem adeptus sum, eis privatum me video. The force
 of the imperfect participle χρώμενος will be perceived if we
 substitute the finite verb for it: the sentence will then run
 ὅσαις ἐγὼ ἐχρώμην μέν, ὅτ' ἦν ιδιώτης, νθν δέ—αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος
 αὐτῶν. See for continuation of relative clause by demonstrative HA. § 1005, G. § 156. 3 ἐπιδή ἐγενόμην, 'ever since
 I first became', ingressive aorist, see G. § 200 Note 5 (b), HA.
 § 841 and cf. Cyr. I i 4 l. 57 with my note.
- § 2 1. 4 συνήν μέν-συνήν δέ, an epanaphora, cf. i 5. 5 συνήν έμαυτῷ, 'I was my own companion', 'was left to my 6 οπότε έπιθυμήσαιμι, G. § 225, 14 own companionship'. 8 233. 7 μέχρι του ἐπιλαθέσθαι, see note to v 5. 8 der, siquid, quidquid, xi 10. 9 μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, 'even to the point of completely mingling up my soul with, becoming absorbed in'. εύθυμίας, 'general merriment'. The Ms reading is μέχρι έπι-Duntas, which Erasmus renders usque ad communem satietutem. The reading of the text, suggested by Weiske, is accepted by Cobet. Cf. Cyr. IV V 7 ol δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καί ξπινον και ηύλοῦντο και πάσης εύθυμίας ένεπίμπλαντο, i 13 περί εὐθυμίαν ἐτύγχανεν ών.
 - § 3 1. 13 δούλους, predicate-noun, HA. § 618. 15 ἐνορῶν scîl. αὐτοῖς, 'see in them'. ἐμοί is the dative after εῦνοιαν, G. § 185, HA. § 765 a. Cf. Cyr. 1 iv 17 with my note. 16 ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα: cf. Ages. xi ὅ τοὺς κρυψινόους ὧσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐψυλάττετο.

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- § 4 1. 18 dφυλαξίαν, 'absence of guards', Oecon. iv 10. αὐτούς, ipsos. 20 περι αὐτόν, 'about oneself', the subject of the previous infinitives being indefinite. 21 ἀργαλέον πράγμα, 'a painful business', Arist. Plut. 1, Thesm. 788, Lys. 764. A poetical word akin to άλγος.
- § 5 l. 22 βαρβάροις: this term included all that were not Hellenes or did not speak their language (Anab. 11 i 7, rep. Athen. 11 vii 11, especially the Medes and Persians (Cyr. v1 iv 9, v111 viii 3, Anab. 1 v 16). 25 ποιείν δλευθέρους, G. § 166. 26 καταπεπληγμένης, 'that has been cowed'. Cobet prefers παραπεπληγμένης 'deranged', the reading in Stobaeos, but cf. Cyrop. 111 i 25 πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μάλιστα καταπλήττει τὰς ψυχάς.
- § 61. 27 autos, ipse. irwin tals fuxals, G. § 187, HA. § 775. 29 συμπαρομαρτών λυμαντήρ: see crit. n. The word $\lambda \nu \mu a \nu \tau \eta \rho$ is un-Attic; it occurs in ch. iii 3. See Greek Index s. v. for words with a similar termination used by Xen.
- § 7 1. 30 πολεμικών, rerum bellicarum, 'of warfare'.

 31 ήδη ποτέ, 'at any time ere now'.

 32 πολόν τινα, ΗΑ.

 § 702 a; cf. Cyr. 11 ii 10 οὐκ οἶδα ποίους τινὰς χρη μᾶλλον εὔξασθαι ἢ τοιούτους στρατιώτας ἔχειν.

 σῖτον ἡροῦ, cibum tibi sumpsisti, cf. Cyr. viii i 38 οὐτε αὐτός ποτε πρὶν ἱδρῶσαι δεῖπνον ἡροῦτο.

 33 ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ, G. § 159, ΗΑ. § 715 b.
- § 8 1. 34 rotaûr' del tort. The common reading is rotaûr' elol, in which Cobet traces the reading which I have adopted: the opposition between rbar and del seems to be required by the context.

 35 kal, atque adeo, 'and indeed', 'or rather'.
- ἐξ ἐναντίας εc. ὁδοῦ, i.q. ἐναντίον, ex adverso, 'from an opposite direction, facing') (ἐκ πλαγίου. Cf. Cyr. vii 20 περί τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῖν μελήσει, Thuc. iv 35, 2 προσιόντες
 15 ἐξ ἐναντίας, vii 44, 4. 36 ὁρᾶν νομίζουσιν, 'they imagine that they see', G. § 134, 3, HA. § 940.
 - § 9 l. 38 ὑπολαβών, 'taking up the discourse', 'in answer'.
 ὑπέρευ, egregie, 'extremely well'. The word occurs in Dem.
 de coron. p. 228, 17 § 10 and in Plato Theaet. p. 185 p.

39 πόλεμος φοβερόν: For a similar use of a neuter predicate adjective see Eur. Suppl. 508 σφαλερόν πιεμών θρασύς. Herc. F. 1292 al μεταβολαί λυπηρόν, Hipp. 109 τερπνόν έκ κυναγίας τράπεζα πλήρης, Xen. r. eq. vi 13 άπρονόητον ή δργή, Oec. viii 4 στρατιά ταραγωδέστατο», Arist. Plut. 203 δειλότατόν έσθ' ὁ πλοῦτος, in all which passages observe that έστι is omitted. 40 μέν—dλλά 'it is true—but'. Both άλλα and μέντοι frequently take the place of δέ as correlatives to uév, especially where a stronger opposition is to be marked, cf. ii 2. 42 υπνου λαγχάνομεν, the usual expression in Attic Greek: cf. Cyr. III i 24 οὖτοι μὲν οὕτε σίτου οὕθ' ύπνου δύνανται λαγχάνειν διά τὸν φόβον, Anab. Η i 11 μικρον δὲ ὅπνου λαγών είδεν ὅναρ, Arist. Ach. 713 οὐκ ἐᾶθ' ὅπνου $\lambda \alpha \gamma \in \hat{i} \nu$, where however $\tau \nu \gamma \in \hat{i} \nu$ is commonly read. See crit. n.

- § 10 l. 43 val μὰ Δία, i 13. 44 αὐτῶν—προφύλαττουστν, pro eis (scil. custodibus) excubias agunt i.e., as Portus explains it, 'metu legum excubitores suum officium faciunt'. Cf. x 6. περί ἐαυτῶν, 'for themselves', 'on their own account', i.e. lest they should be punished for negligence; ὑπὰρ ὑμῶν 'in your interest', lest harm should happen to you. 46 μωσθοῦ, gen. of value, G. § 178, HA. § 746. Cf. Ages. iv 4 εἰ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει, Cyr. III iii 3, Mem. v viii 2 μισθοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐργάζεσθαι. θεριστάς, 'labourers in the harvest', 'qui plus danti facile se addicunt' (Breitenbach).
- § 11 l. 47 ούτω—ώς, tantopere—quantopere. χαλεπώτερον sc. ἐστί.

 49 όποίου βούλει ξργου, 'of any sort of trade you will', by attraction and assimilation for ἔργου ὀποῖου βούλει, G. § 154 Note, HA. § 995 a.

 50 ἄλλως τε καί, 'both in other respects and', 'especially'.

 52 ἀποκτείνασι, G. § 277, 2, HA. § 969 a.
- § 12 1. 54 8 8' thicker as hims, 'as to your congratulations, felicitations of us'. Cf. iv 6, Oecon. IV 6 8 8è $\epsilon l \pi a s$ is $\delta \epsilon l \mu a \theta \epsilon l \nu \tau a \ell \tau a$ at λ , where in like manner $\tau a \ell \tau a$ refers to the single statement introduced by the words $\delta \epsilon l \pi a s$, Hell. 11 iii

45 å δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ώς ἐγώ εἰμι οἰος ἀεἰ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. Compare the use of the Latin quod 'as to the circumstance that', on which see Madvig Lat. Gr. § 398 b Obs. 2, cf. iii 3. 56 πάντων μάλωτα: see note on iii 6. οὐδὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, 'this is not the case either'. Cf. iv 6.

§ 18 l. 57 πως αν νομίσαις: see note on 1 i l. 3. 59 ήδιστ' αν-έξ όφθαλμών σου νένοιτο, 'would be most glad to get out of your sight'. Cf. Herod. v 106, 7 ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου, Dion Cass. Lx 34 έξ όφθαλμων αὐτω έπίτηδες ύπ' έκείνης τὰ πολλά γιγνόμενον, Alciphron Epist, 3, 20, 8 (writing about a conjuror) ανελόμενος (τὰ λιθίδια) έξ όφθαλ μῶν 61 airov voulte, 'considers as belonging to himself', predicate-genitive referring to the object of the sentence. HA. § 782 b. Cp. Ages. i 33 el τινες την 'Ασίαν έαυτων πρίν αν-νένηται. When πρίν is used with a finite mood (indic. subj. or opt.), it = our 'until' in negative or quasi-negative sentences, HA. § 924 a. A few exceptions and irregularities are noticed by Shilleto in a critical note on Dem. de fals, leg. § 235. See also Kühner § 568. 62 Ew Tis τούτου έπικρατείας, 'out of his dominion' or 'beyond his jurisdiction'.

Cf. Anab. vii vi 42 ἄπιμεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας, $\mathbf v$ iv 4 κρήνη ... ὑπὸ τῆ ἐπικρατεία τοῦ χωρίου i. 6. huius loci ditioni subisotus i. 6. intra huius loci fines situs, Cyr. $\mathbf v$ iv 28 τὰς νομάς τῶν κτηνῶν τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο, ἐν τῆ ἐαυτῶν ἐπικρατεία, $\mathbf v$ 24 τὰ σὰ χωρία τὰ πρότερον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτειαν συγκαταρρυώντα.

§ 14 l. 63 The order is πως δ' αῦ ἀν φαίης ἐξεῖναι (licere) μ áλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις χειροῦσθαι έχθρούς; the emphatic word έχθρούς occupying the first place. 65 TUDGLYVOULEVOL: κατακαίνειν, 'to kill outright', see crit. n. 16 ii 11. menery: see crit. n. τίνων έτι άρξει; ες. ὁ τύραννος, 'whom will he have left to rule?' Such transitions from plural to singular and vice versa are common in Greek: cf. iii 4, iv 2, vii 3. 68 Sén: supply 57av from 1. 64, και χρήσθαι 8' autois, 'and (84) to use them also' (nai). Observe that ral-of takes the place of and of, the normal correlative of αμα μέν. So Cyr. I iv 3 we have αμα μέν followed by έτι δὲ καί.

§ 15 l. 70 οθε τών πολιτών δεδίασι for τούτους των πολιτών οδς δεδίασι, G. § 168, HA. § 73. yalemôs, aeare. 'with reluctance'. 71 aŭroús: see n. to i l. 96. coer: see G. \$ 279, 2 and cf. iv 8 l. 46. 72 (ππος: for a similar anacoluthon cf. iv 6 with note. 73 Φοβερός—μή - worner, the personal construction instead of the impersonal. as in δήλος, δίκαιος είμι etc., HA. § 944 a, G. § 280 Note 1. Cf. Anab. v vii 2 φοβεροί ήσαν μη ποιήσειαν for φοβερον ην μη ποιήσειαν, Herod. Ι 155 οὐδέν δεινοί τοι έσονται μη άποστέωσι for οὐδὲν δεινόν τοι ἔσται, μη ἐκεῖνοι ἀποστέωσι. 74 ἀποκτείναι: an un-Attic form for ἀποκτείνειε. See Rutherford's New Phrynichus p. 433 ff. doern'y, 'good qualities'. 75 γρώτο: 3d pers. sing. opt. pr. from γρησθαι contr. from γράοιτο. The άν must of course be repeated with this verb.

§ 16 l. 76 καί—γε, 'aye and', i 17, 22. 78 όμοίως απαντα, itidem omnia, 'all alike'. λυπεί μέν—λυπεί δέ, see n. to i 5. τοὺς κεκτημένους, 'their possessors'. λυπεί απαλλαττομένους, 'it vexes them to part with them'. Observe the difference in the meaning of the participle when used with and without the article. In the latter case we should translate by the infinitive: see my note to Oecon. iv i l. 4 and cp. Cyr. II i 3 οὐκ ἀν σε ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν. Cobet's alteration into ἀπαλλαττόμενα is quite unnecessary.

CHAPTER VII

Simonides rejoins:—'Honour and a brilliant position must be things of inestimable value, if they are worth purchasing at the price which you describe. The desire of honour indeed is the distinguishing characteristic of man from other animals, and those in whom it is most conspicuous are usually the furthest removed from mere brutes. It is no wonder that you submit to all the inconveniences attending royalty, when you are so much more honoured than other men. For nothing brings a man so near the gods, as the feeling of being honoured' (§ 1—§ 4).

'True' answers Hieron, 'but the marks of honour paid to despots by those who stand in fear of them are not considered as such, they are mere acts of servility. True honour springs from an opposite sentiment to that of fear; it must emanate from the spontaneous voice of freemen. 'To live upon men's tongues and be their talk', and at the same time to hold a position in their hearts as doers of good, to be the object of devotion and reverence and yet not of fear—this is real honour. But a despot enjoys no such satisfaction. He lives in a constant state of suspense and anxiety, like a criminal under sentence of death by every one' (§ 5—§ 10).

'Why then' says Simonides 'do you not abdicate? How happens it that no despot has ever yet shown a disposition to abdicate?' (§ 11).

Hieron answers: 'The impossibility of laying down his power is one of the greatest hardships to which a despot is subjected. He cannot endure his present condition, but he cannot retire from it with safety, even if he would, because of the number of persons whom he has been obliged to make his enemies. The best thing he can do is to hang himself' (§ 12—§ 13).

- § 1 l. 1 ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἥκουσεν: G. § 171, 2 Note 1, HA. § 742 c.
- 2 μέγα τι: see n. to ii 16. 3 ἡs ὁρεγόμενοι, 'in their efforts to attain which', ix 5, G. § 171, 1. ὁρέγεσθαι is properly 'to stretch forth one's hand', and with gen. 'to reach at', hence metaph. 'to reach after, aim at, desire'. πάντα—μέν—πάντα δέ: see n. to i 5. ὑποδύονται, subeunt, 'undergo'.
- § 2 l. 5 τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης, 'although it involves so much trouble', G. § 277, 5, HA. § 969 e: cf. Cyr. viii i21 τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα πράγματα ἔχουσιν; the usual import of the phrase πράγματα ἔχειν is 'to have trouble about a thing'. 6 προπετῶς φέρεσθε, 'rush headlong'. 7 ὅπως ὑπηρετῶσιν ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα, 'in order that they may do all that is enjoined them in your service'; the neuter adjective in lieu of kindred noun, G. § 159 Note 2, HA. § 716 b. Cf. i 8, Cyr. vi ii 2 κᾶν ταῦτά μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσητε, 37 å ἐπίστανται τῷ βουλομένω μωσθοῦ ὑπηρε-

τούντες. 8 απροφασίστως, sine excusatione, prompte. 'unhesitatingly'. Cf. Cyr. n iii 8, vm i 29 700s d x po daσίστως πειθομένους τιμών. 9 περιβλέπωσι, suspiciant, 'may look up to you with respect'. Hence Test Blentos, 'admired of all', xi 9. ὑπανιστώνται ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων: In Herod. (π 80) we find οἱ νεώτεροι τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγγάνοντες είκουσι της όδου και έπιουσι έξ έδ ons υπανιστέαται. The usual phrase is ψπανίστασθαι τών θάκων, της έδρας, 'to rise from one's seat', as a mark of respect to another. So below 1, 32, 1. 44, Symp. iv 31 ὑπανίστανταί μοι θάκων καὶ ὁδῶν ἐξίστανται. Arist, Nub. 993 των θάκων τοις πρεσβυτέροις ύπανίστασθαι. In rep. Lac. xv 6, έδρας πάντες ύπανίστανται βασιλεί, πλήν ούκ έφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν έφορικῶν δίφρων, the two constructions are seen side by side. 10 όδων παραχωρώσι, 'make room for, get out of the way for', so below 1, 33, Mem. 11 iii 16 ôðoð παραγωρήσαι τον νεώτερον πρεσβυτέρω συντυγχάνοντι πανταγού νομίζεται και καθήμενον ύπαναστήναι, Cyrop. VII v 20 δ ποταμός ήμεν παρακεγώρηκε της είς την πόλιν όδου.

γεραίρωσι, ornent, 'honour', a poetical word, frequently used by Xen., e.g. Cyr. viii i 39 τούτους και δώροις και έδραις και πάσαις τιμαῖς έγέραιρεν, Hell. I vii 33 στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τούς νικώντας, Oecon. iv 8. 11 οι παρόντες del: del 'each time' is placed after the participle, when it refers to the finite verh no less than to the participle: cf. Oecon. viii 7, xix 19.

12 γὰρ δή, 'for of course, as a matter of fact'. τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσι τοῦς τυράννους, not 'they do these kind of things to despots', which would require τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσι τοὺς τυράννους, but 'they do these kind of things in honour of despots' (dativus commodi), G. § 165. See cr. n. 13 καὶ ἄλλον ὅντινα for καὶ ὅντινα ἄλλον ἀεὶ τ. τ., scil, τούτω ταῦτα ποιοῦσι, et aliis, quos quocumque tempore prosequentur honore.

§ 3 l. 14 dνήρ, not άνθρωπος, because Xen. is here speaking of man in a higher sense, as raised above the level of the brute creation, and not as a mere ζώου.

15 τῷ ὀρέγεσθαι, epexegetical infinitive in apposition to τούτψ; see n. to Oecon. xiv 10 and for the dative G. § 188 Note 1, HA. § 780.

• τεί, 'for'.

For the sentiment cp. the Spectator No 467: 'Those who

are most affected with the love of praise seem most to partakeof that particle of the Divinity which distinguishes mankind from the inferior creation', Cic. de off. I viii 26. the plural probably is used for the sake of assimilation with 17 olvous and morois. 17 πάντα όμοίως: vi 16. 19 Eudin: subj. of ενεφυν. The mss reading εμφυή would imply the existence of a form ounvai, formed after the analogy of bunivai. but this was confined to later Greek. οίε δ' αν-ούτοι : 800 21 ανδοες--άνθρωποι: cf. ii 1 n. to iii 4. 20 1/8m: i 36. note and add to the exx. there quoted Anab. I vii 4, Philostr. V. A. 1, 16 οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἐαυτῷ δεῖν ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν. Frotscher compares Cic. Ep. ad fam. v 17 3 ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse duxi, te ut hortarer rogaremque, ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses.

§ 4 1. 22 éuol név: see note to i 7. 23 εἰκότως υπομένειν: For επικουφίζει τι ή τιμή τους πόνους τώ άρχοντι Cvr. ı vi 25. 24 διαφερόντως των άλλων άνθρώπων, the genitive of distinction, HA. § 753 g. 26 τοῦ θείου έγγυτέρω: G. § 75 Note 1, § 182, 2, HA. § 260, § 757. 27 εύφροσύνη, 'mirth', another poetical word often used by Xenophon, as below viii 3. Cyr. III iii 7 δοκεί ήμεν εύφροσύνη τις νθν παρείναι, ότι εύπορία τις προσγεγένηται, vii 4, 6 είρηνης και εύφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ην, VIII vii 12 όταν ανθρωπίνης εύφροσύνης έπιδεης έση: but chiefly in the plural in a concrete sense, as above i 2. Cvr. VII ii 28 έκείνη (ή γυνή) των άγαθων καλ εύφροσυν ών πασών έμολ τὸ ἴσον μετείχε, ib. VIII i 32 προπονείν σύν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσυνών, Agesil. ix 3 ήγάλλετο, ότι αύτὸς έν μέσαις ταίς εύφροσύναις άναστρέφοιτο, rep. Lac. vii 6 ή κτήσις πλείους λύπας ή ή χρήσις εὐφροσύνας παρέχει, Mem. III viii 10 γραφαί καί ποικιλίαι πλείονας εύφροσύνας άποστεροῦσιν ή παρέχουσι. Oecon. ix 12 των εύφροσυνων μεταδιδόντες, Apol. 8 γήρα, els ο πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρεί και μάλα έρημα τών εὐφροσυνών. L. Dindorf is mistaken in asserting (Steph. Thesaur. III p. 2502 b) that the word 'saepius est etiam apud Platonem et Demosthenem aliosque'. As a matter of fact, in the former writer it only occurs thrice, each time in reference to its supposed derivation (εὐ, φέρεσθαι), viz. Defin. p. 413 E. Cratyl. p. 419 b. Timae. p. 80 s; in the latter only once, de fals. leg. p. 422, 6, in a quotation from Solon.

- § 5 1. 29 at ὑπουργίαι at ὑπὸ φοβουμένων 'services rendered by men under fear'. For the use of ὑπὸ with verbal substantive to denote the acting person or efficient cause cp. viii 4, Cyr. in iii 2, Plat. Rep. p. 378 p "Ηρας δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ νίἐος καὶ 'Ηφαίστου ῥίψεις ὑπὸ πατρός; also for the absence of the article before the participle ix 3 τὸ μὲν ἀνάγκης δεύμενον κολάζειν.
- § 7 1. 30 αν φαίημεν, see note to i 1. 31 δια τὸ τιμάν τοὺς άδικοῦντας, 'out of respect for their oppressors'.
- § 81. 34 καί—γε: vi 16. 35 καί ταῦτα sc. τὰ δῶρα, either 'and those too', as in ii 2, or simply idque 'and that too'.
- 36 μη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν, G. § 218. For the use of ὑπό to denote the agent or author, with intransitive neuter verbs in passive sense, see HA. § 808, Ib. 38 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις, 'from the opposite sentiments to these', i.e. not from hatred and servile fear but from love and sympathy.
- § 9 1. 39 ανθρωποι, i 2 note. 40 ήγησαμενοι-νομίoravres: with verbs of thinking, wishing and those which denote generally any mental act, the Greeks often use the agrist participle, where we use the present. απολαύειν αύτου άναθά νομίσαντες, ξπειτα-ξχωσιν, because they think that they reap some advantages from him, for that reason have his praises always in their mouth'. Some take the present infinitive (άπολαύειν) here to be used for the future infinitive (see G. § 203 note 2, Lobeck on Phrynichus p. 746 ff. and cf. Oecon, vi 11, Ages, ii 8), but this does not appear necessary. On the use of excita with the principal verb after a participle to mark with emphasis that the principal action takes place as a consequence of the action expressed by the participle, see HA. § 976 b.—"Επειτα however is generally used in the sense of tamen, not, as here, in that of propterea.
- 41 ἀνα στόμα έχωσιν: Eur. Electr. 80 θεούς έχων άνα στόμα, Andr. 95 ἀνα στόμ' ἀεί και δια γλώσσης έχειν, Hom. II. 11 250

τῷ οὐκ ἀν βασιληας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις. The phrase διὰ στόματος έχειν occurs in Cvr. 1 iv 25. 43 οίκειον αναθόν. 45 μή φοβούμενοι: the μή is ut sibi peculiare-bonum. controlled by the gray in 1, 39. The apodosis begins with οδτοι 1. 47. KOLPR, communiter. So Cobet. The common reading Kolvas can scarcely mean 'public virtue', as it has been translated. 46 δωρείσθαι έθέλωσιν, 'are glad to make him presents'. of airol, iidem, 'likewise'. See, however 18 cr. n. 48 τοιαύτα υπουργήσωσι: see note to 1. 7. τούτων, 'these marks of respect'. 49 τιμάσθαι ες, δοκεί μοι.

τῶ ὄντι i.q. ἀληθῶς, 'really' 'effectually'.

§ 10 l. 51 φροντιζόμενον μή τι πάθη. As the active φροντίζειν μή τι πάθη means 'to be anxious for another that he may not come to harm', so the object of the concern of others is said φροντίζεσθαι μή τι πάθη. Cobet compares a similar use of the passive de re equestri xi 7, where the horse from which a rider dismounts is said καταβαίνεσθαι 'to be dismounted from'. ην δέ και δίππος ταγύ τε καταβαίνηται και άπογαλινώται. and Oecon. iv 3 al βαναυσικαί καλούμεναι (τέχναι) είκοτως πάνυ άδοξούνται πρός τών πόλεων. 55 ούτως bears demonstrative reference to the preceding clause ώς—ἀποθνήσκειν. eð ľσθι. as in Occon. x 13, extra constructionem. 56 Sidyes: i 8.

§ 11 l. 57 διήκουσεν, 'had heard to the end': Oecon. xi 1. 58 kal $\pi \hat{\omega}_s$; see n. to I i l. 6. τό τυραννείν, G. § 258, 59 Evvokas, expertus es. 60 ούτε άλλος HA. § 959. μέν δη ούδείς, 'nor in fact, it may be enough to say, any one else', the enumeration beginning with uév is cut short by $\delta \eta$, one consideration $\mu \epsilon \nu$ and there an end. 61 EKOV ELVOLL G. § 268 Note, HA. § 956 a. ούδεις πώποτε...τυραννίδος αφώτο, 'no one ever vet gave up despotic power'. aor. 2 mid. = ἀπηλλάγη. Cf. Cyr. 11 i 21 ἀφέμενοι τοῦ πολλοίς προσέχειν τον νούν, Oecon. vi 16 άφέμενον της καλής δψεως, de red. iv 6 άφιέμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1521 αφοῦ τέκνων, Thue. 11 60 μη τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας άφιεσθε. δσπερ απαξ έκτήσατο, see cr. n.

§ 12 l. 63 ταύτη, hoc nomine, 'in this point, herein', as explained in the following sentence introduced by γάρ. dθλιώτατον: see note to vi 9. For the sentiment cp. Plutarch Solon c. 14 πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν (Σόλων) καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον, οὖκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν. σύδὲ γάρ, neque enim, a stronger negative than οὐ γάρ, corresponding to the positive καὶ γάρ. 65 πῶς ἄν—ἔξαρκόσειε—ἐκτίνων, 'how is it possible that he should pay enough (to repay those)' etc.? The verb ἀρκεῖν has here the same personal construction as in Oecon. xii 4 δστις μέλλει ἀρκέσειν ἐπιμελούμενος, Cyr. IV v 44 οδτε ἐγὼ ἀρκέσω πράττων τι πρὸ ὑμῶν δ τι ἀν δέγ οδτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, v iv 36.

66 δσους αφείλετο, τούτοις δσους άφείλετο χρήματα: see G. § 164, HA. § 724, for the double accusative. αν) δεσμούς αντιπαράσχοι δσους δή έδέσμευσεν, aut (qui fieri potest ut) tamdiu in carcere degat ipse quamdiu alios in vinculis tenuerit? 'or how could he replace in his own person the exact (84) number of imprisonments which he inflicted on others?' I have followed Cobet in rejecting the emendation αντιπάσγοι proposed by D'Orville on Chariton p. 217 and admitted by all subsequent editors. Cobet justly observes that δεσμόν # doyer is not a Greek expression, and that there is a distinction between Scoud vincula, 'bonds', and Scouos, in carcerem coniectio, captivitas in vinculis, 'imprisonment'. The latter is the same in signification as τὸ δέδεσθαι, just as θάνατος= τὸ τεθνάναι; as then θάνατοι may be used to express the death of several persons, so here dequal is said of the 'imprisonment of several persons'. The Greek equivalent for 'to be as long in prison yourself as you have left another in prison 'would be δεσμόν αντιπαρέγειν τινι; 80 δεσμούς αντιπαρέγειν δσους τις αὐτὸς ἔδησεν might be very well applied to a despot undergoing a term of imprisonment as long as the combined terms of imprisonment inflicted by him on others. έδέσμευσεν. On the form δεσμεύειν see crit. note to vi 14.

68 mês av knavds ψυχάς κτλ., qui fieri potest ut pro occisis hominibus satis multas suas ipsius animas praebeat morituras? i.e. ut mortem totiens oppetat quot cives capitali supplicio affecerit? 'how can he offer a sufficient number of his own

lives to die (to pay the forfeit of) in return for those whom he has put to death?' See cr. n.

\$ 18 1. 69 To i.g. Tipl. Appreha. 'it avails, it pays'. The full phrase is λύειν τέλη 'to pay dues' and so to rid oneself of liabilities, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 316. Hence Now is sometimes found in this sense without $\tau \in \lambda_{7}$ as in Eur. Med. 1112, 1362 λύει δ' άλγος ην σύ μη 'γγελάς, Alc. 627 φημί 70 drávěgota (dráv τοιούτους γάμους λύειν Βροτοίσιν. $\chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$), 'to hang himself'. 71 εύρίσκω-λυσιτελούν, G. 8 280, HA, 8 982, τούτο-ποιήσαι ες. ἀπάγξασθαι: 800 note to iv 5; τοῦτο may also be the subject of λυσιτελοῦν and ποιήσαι a limiting infinitive (G. § 261, 1). 72 over tyes ούτε καταθέσθαι τα κακά, 'neither to retain nor to lay down his troubles'.

CHAPTER VIII

Simonides in reply, after sympathising with Hieron's despondency, undertakes to console him by showing that such consequences do not necessarily attend despotic rule. The despot's power is an instrument for good as well as for evil. By a proper employment of it he may not only avoid being hated, but may even make himself beloved, beyond the measure attainable by any private citizen. Even kind words and petty courtesies are welcomed far more eagerly when they come from a powerful man than from an equal (§ 1—§ 4). Moreover a showy and brilliant exterior seldom fails to fascinste the spectator (§ 5—§ 7).

Hieron replies: 'But despots are obliged by their position to incur unpopularity where private persons need not do so. They must levy taxes for their necessary supplies, punish malefactors, restrain law-breakers, and in case of a sudden outbreak of war they must enforce a strict attention to duty on those in command. Lastly, they must keep up a body-guard of mercenaries—a most oppressive burden to their subjects, who regard it as an instrument of tyranny' (§ 8—§ 10).

- § 1 l. 1 ὑπολαβών, 'in answer'. The original meaning of ψπό is 'upwards', hence it expresses resistance 'to a motion'. Υπολαμβάνειν is 'to take up' or 'interrupt' a speaker: $\partial \pi \alpha \kappa \phi \delta \epsilon \nu$ to show that one hears' (by answering or obeying). So ψπομένειν is 'to bear up against', ὑπωμοσία is 'an affidavit to stop proceedings'. See Monro's Homeric Grammar, p. 140. το μέν νῦν-μέντοι, 'although for the present, yet'. Cp. ix 1, Oecon. ii 22, x 49 etc. 2 ἀθύμως Every mode Thy Tupavylla, 'to be out of heart at (with) despotism'. Cp. Hell, IV V 4 έν σκότω άθύμως πρός τὸ δείπνον έγόντων, Plut. Nic. c. 26, 6 προς τάς έκ θεών έλπίδας άθύμως 19 είχον. 4 έμποδών τούτου scil. τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων. Cp. Cyr. 11 iv 23 αποσοβούντες αν έμποδών γίγνοιντο τοῦ (υ. Ι, τὸ) μη ὁρῶν αὐτούς, ΥΙΙΙ ν 24 έμποδών άλλήλοις πολλών και άγαθών έσεσθε. 5 έχειν μοι δοκώ, videor mihi posse. 6 ovičev. adv. 'not at all', cf. i 28. άποκωλύει (seil. τον άρχοντα) τοῦ φιλείσθαι, G. § 174, HA. § 748. 7 πλεονεκτεί γε της ίδιωτείας, 'he has the advantage over private life'. Cp. Plat. Legg. III p. 696 A Kal 181 wreig kal βασιλεία, Rep. x 618 d Ιδιωτείαι και άρχαί. Lucian (de conscr. hist, c. 27) uses it in the sense of inscitia. The ve serves to emphasize wheoverter.
 - § 2 l. 8 αὐτό, the anticipatory accusative, cf. i 88, v 2, Anab. IV v 34 τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἢ εἴη ἱο ἔφραζεν ἢ εἴη ἡ ὁδός, Oecon. xix 14 τὸ ὅστρακον—ἀγνοεῖς—πῶς ἀν καταθείης. ἐκεῖνο, in reference to what follows. 9 εἰ, 'whether', iii 1.
 - χαρίζεσθαι πλείω, 'to grant more favours': see note to
 αν ποιώσιν for έλν π.
 αν φοιώσιν for έλν π.
 αν φοιώσιν for έλν π.
 - 13 oct, the so-called ethical dative, superfluous as to the general sense, but imparting a lively and familiar tone to the sentence. So Shakesp. Merry W. of W. 1, 4, 97 'I'll do you your master what good I can', Much Ado 2, 3, 116 'she will sit you'. G. § 184, 3 Note 6, HA. § 770.
 - § 3 l. 14 προσειπάτω, 'suppose him to address'. The imperative is here used to denote a supposition, where something is supposed to be true for argument's sake.

G. MT. § 84 Note 4. The Latin imperative is frequently thus used by Cic. as in Cat. mai. 11, 34 ne sint in senectute vires, 'let us assume that age has no strength', de off. III 13, 54 vendat aedes vir bonus, i.e. 'suppose he has for sale'. οησιν: Pollux 5, 137 ασπασμόν. 17 (θ. 8ή, age, porro, 'now then', 'again', a form of transition, chiefly in dialogue and usually followed by 2nd person imper. or 1st person subj. έπαινεσάντων αμφότεροι τον αύτον, 'supposing them both to praise the same man'. Cobet was the first to see that exameσάντων is the imperative for έπαινεσάτωσαν, and to restore αμφότεροι for αμφοτέρων into which it was altered by some convist to suit what he supposed was a participle. ικγείσθαι els εὐφροσύνην, suppetere, valere ad la etitiam, 'satisfies in respect of causing joy'. Cp. Plat. Protag. p. 311 p άν... έξικν η ται τὰ ἡμέτερα χρήματα. 19 θύσας τιμησάτω exárence, 'let each of the two, when he offers sacrifice, honour (the same man)', i.e. with an invitation to the postsacrificial entertainment. Sacrifices are enumerated by Aristotle Ethic. viii 9 and Thucydides ii 38 among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly accompanied by the entertainments of friends and relations. Cf. Mem. II iii 11 λέγε δή μοι, έφη, εί τινα τών γνωρίμων βούλοιο κατεργάσασθαι, δπότε θύοι, καλείν σε έπι δείπνον, τι αν ποιοίης; ib. II iii 11 ὁπότε θύοι, ἐκάλει (τοῦτον), Plut. Themist. 5, 1, 1. 19 with my note. 20 αν-τυγχάνειν, i 3, x 3, G. § 211, HA. 8 964 a.

- § 4 1. 21 κάμνοντα, aegrotantem. 22 σαφές scil. ἐστί. al ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπεῖαι, 'kind offices bestowed by those who are most powerful', see n. to vii 6. 23 ἐμποισῦν 'produce in them' scil. τοῖς θεραπευ θεῖσι. 24 δόντων τὰ ἴσα, 'suppose they (i.e. δ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης) make him equal presents'. 25 αὶ ἡμίσειαι χάριτες, 'favours of half the value'. 26 πλέον—δύνανται, plus valent. ὅλον τὸ δώρημα, G. § 142, 4 Note 5, HA. 672 a.
- § 5 1. 28 συμπαρέπεσθαι, comitari, 'to go along with', 'attend on': Cyr. II i 23 καὶ άλλαι τιμαὶ αὶ πρέπουσαι έκάστοις συμπαρείποντο, Plat. Legg. II p. 667 Β δσοις συμπαρέπεταί

άνδοι ἄργοντι: ανήρ is frequently used appositively with words denoting station or condition. Cp. viii 10. ix 3. xi 1 and see HA. \$ 625. un - ori - rout - alla kal - Beinger 'not only does it (authority) add lustre to the appearance of him who is invested with it, but we look at this same man with greater pleasure when he is in authority than when he is only a private person'. With most we must supply the subject τὸ ἀργειν, implied in ἀνδρὶ ἄργοντι. Cf. Oecon. v 3, un on, = 'not only', when followed as here xx 3, xxi 12, by all a al or simply alla, i.e. not supposing us to say. Cf. Plato Apol, p. 40 p μη δτι ιδιώτην τινά, άλλα τον μέγαν βασιλέα. When $d\lambda\lambda'$ οὐδέ=ne-quidem follows, it means 'not only not', like the Latin non modo when followed by sed ne-quidem. Where uh 571 ushers in the second of two clauses, of which the first is negative, it means nedum 'much less'. 31 διαλεγόμενοι άγαλλόμεθα, G. § 279, 1, HA. § 983. Cp. Agesil, v 3 πονών ήγάλλετο, Hell. vi v 48 (ed. Cobet) αναλλόμε θα συναγορεύοντες ανδράσιν αγαθοίς. τοις προτετι-32 τοις έκ τοῦ from their over, 'those who are on the same level with us'.

- § 7 1. 33 ὁπότε, quandoquidem, cp. iv 2, Symp. ii 12 καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία διδακτόν, ὁπότε αθτη—οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ ξίφη ἴεται, 20 Ages. viii 5. γε μήν: see n. to x 5. 35 πολλαπλάσια scil. τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. 36 ἔχητε, positis, 1. 5. 37 καὶ πολύ: see n. to ii 10.
 - § 8 1. 39 & Δν dπεχθάνονται—πλείω—πραγματεύεσθαι, 'to engage in many more of the transactions, because of which men incur hatred'.
 - § 9 l. 41 πρακτέον μέν γε χρήματα sc. έστί, 'thus, for one thing, we must exact money'. Buttmann on Dem. Mid. § 21 f. observes on μέν γε:—cum quis uno argumento vel exemplo aliquid probat, potest hoc ut sufficiens adferre; quod fit particula γάρ: potest etiam significare plura quidem posse desiderari sed hoc unum satis grave esse; quod fit addito γέ, 'certe saltem'. He observes also that in many passages editors

have substituted μέν γάρ for μέν γε; as Weiske would in the present passage. Cf. Arist, Nub. 1382, Av. 1608, Lys. 589, Xen. Cyr. 11 i 16, ii 14, rv iii 18, v 29 etc. So μέν γε, answered by &f. is often used in working out a contrast between two characters. Ridd. l. c. § 158. el meddomen efen ktd., 'if we are to have the means of spending upon necessaries'. Cf. Oecon. v 15, vii 20, xii 5, Ages, ii 25 χρημάτων έώρα την πόλω δεομένην, εί μέλλοι σύμμαγόν τινα έξειν, Mem. π vi 14 ώς εί μέλλομεν αγαθόν τινα κτήσεσθαι φίλον, αὐτούς ήμας δεῖ αγαθούς γενέσθαι, de re eq. ii 2 ταῦτα ὑποδείγματα ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμνη ών δεί έπιμεληθήναι, εί μέλλει τον μισθον απολήψεσθαι. On δαπανάν els see x 8, xi 1. 42 αναγκαστέον φυλάττειν, ' we must compel (persons) to guard': the indefinite object being 45 καί—γε: i 17, 22. unexpressed. δταν τάχους καιρός παραστή - ξορμάσθαι, 'whenever the moment for quick action presents itself, to start on a land or naval expedition'. έπιτρεπτέον τοις δαδιουργούσι scil. δαδιουργείν, 'he must not let the listless (trierarchs or other officials) have their own way', i.e. he must hurry them up with pressure and fines. Cp. Xen. Cyr. I vi 8 έγω δε οίμαι τον άρχοντα οὐ τῷ ραδιουργείν χρήναι διαφέρειν των άρχομένων, άλλα τω προνοείν και φιλοπονείν. 11 i 25. viii iv 5.

§ 10 l. 48 ἀνδρὶ τυράννφ: see n. to l. 28. τούτου sc. τοῦ φορήματοs, 'this burden'. Cf. Cyr. 111 i 25 οἰον φόρημα (quam grave onus sit) ὁ φόβοs. 49 οὐ γὰρ τυράννοις ἰσοτιμίας—τρέφεσθαι, neque enim tyrannos tam ob parem honorem quam matoris causa hos alere credunt. Schenkl remarks 'regis est id agere, ne quis se potentia opibus honore superet, tyranni autem ut ceteros omnes his rebus antecedat; non ergo, ut eodem quo ceteri cives utatur iure, mercennarii aluntur a tyranno, sed ut maiore quadam potentia utatur, ut ipse dominus sit, ceteri servi'.

CHAPTER IX

Simonides replies: 'If there are some duties which lead to unpopularity, there are others which tend directly to the attainment of popular favour. A despot therefore ought to delegate to others the task of rebuking and punishing, while he administers rewards in person, giving prizes for superior excellence in every department and thus endearing himself to all. Such prizes would provoke a salutary competition in the performance of military duties, in husbandry, commerce and all the arts of peace and public usefulness of every kind. Thus industry would be greatly promoted and there would be a decrease of crime' (§ 1—§ 11).

- § 1 l. 2 dalá is often thus used in quick answers and objections, chiefly in negation, δπως ού έπιμελητέον ού heyw, 'I do not assert that we are not to take care of all these matters'. The declarative use of δπως for ώς or δτι in indirect quotations is chiefly confined to poetry, see G. § 249, MT. § 78. In most of the passages where it is used it may be rendered by quomodo 'how'. Mér is correlative to uérro; in l. 3. 'it is true-but'. Cf. viii i. It is so used, (1) when particular emphasis has to be given to the opposition; (2) where $\delta \epsilon$ could not be conveniently used; (3) in expressing opposition to a clause which is itself introduced by $\delta \epsilon$. 3 emineral, studia, 'duties, concerns'; cf. Oecon, vii 41. 4 al uty-al 86 in partitive apposition to ἐπιμέλειαι, cp. iii 8, v 1. On the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun see G. § 143, 1. πρὸς ἐχθρὰν ἄγειν, 'lead to unpopularity'. Cf. de Ath. rep. i 5 ή πενία αύτους μάλλον άγει έπι τὰ αισχρά, Cyr. νι ii 31 όψα-έπι σίτον άγει, i.e. 'create a taste for eating'. διά χαρίτων είναι, gratae esse, ad gratiam conciliandam valere, 'to be pleasant', 'agreeable', not, as Liddell-Scott translate, 'to be on terms of mutual friendship'.
- § 2 1. 5 το μέν—αϋτη μέν—το δέ—ταῦτα δέ. When the opposition denoted by μέν and δέ lies in a relative sentence, and to this a demonstrative reference is annexed

δs-οῦτος, μέν and δέ (or one of them) are often put twice. first with the relative, then with the demonstrative, see Buttmann Exc. on Demosth, Mid. p. 129. In the same way we find a double $\mu \notin \nu$ with a double $\delta \notin$ in order to bring out more forcibly the parallelism of two clauses. Cf. Oecon. iv 8 of $\mu \stackrel{.}{\in} \nu - \tau o \acute{\nu} \tau o \iota s \quad \mu \stackrel{.}{\in} \nu - o \stackrel{.}{\iota} s \quad \delta \stackrel{.}{\in} - \tau o \acute{\nu} \tau o \nu s \quad \delta \stackrel{.}{\in} .$ SiSágkeiv a forti Bédrigra, ea docere quae optima sunt. 6 καλλιστα. 'in the best manner', 'most efficiently', ταύτα ες. τλ $\beta \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \tau \iota \sigma \tau a$. On the emphatic repetition of the demonstrative pronoun $a \tilde{v} \tau n$ and 1. 10 $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a$ see on i 17 1. 101. 9 dvayedler, 'to treat with severity'. 10 δι' άπεν θείας ylyverbas, odio esse, 'to be hateful'; cp. Aesch. Pr. V. 120 τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς δι' ἀπεγθείας ἐλθόντα, 80 δι' δγλου γίγνεσθαι 'to be troublesome', Arist. Eccl. 888, διὰ φιλίας lέναι 'to be friendly', Anab. III ii 8.

§ 8 1. 11 ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι: n. to viii 1. 28. The construction is τὸ μὲν κολάζειν δεόμενον ἀνάγκης ('coercion') προστακτέον εἶναι (G. § 281, 1) ἄλλοις (G. § 187) ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι (G. § 188, 4), τὸ δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ἆθλα ποιητέον (εἶναι) δι' αὐτοῦ (i.e. 'without the agency of others'). Cobet, regarding κολάζειν as a gloss, would take τὸ ἀνάγκης δεόμενον together as = πάντα ἐν οῖς βίαν δεῖ προσφέρειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι. See however or. app.

21 14 μαρτυρεί τὰ γιγνόμενα, 'facts testify'.

§ 4 l. 15 ήμιν: see n. on viii 2. 16 άθλα προτίθησιν, 'offers prizes'. Cf. de red. iii 3 el δè και τῆ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῆ ἀθλα προτιθείη τις, δστις δικαιότατα διαιροίη τὰ ἀμφίλογα, Cyr. IV i 18 ἀγῶνας προειπῶν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἄθλα προτιθείς δοκεῖ μάλιστ' ἄν ποιεῦν εὖ ἀσκεῦσθαι ἔκαστα, Hell. III iV 16 ἀθλα προσθηκε ταῖς ὁπλιτικαῖς τάξεσω, ῆτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι, IV ii 5 ἀθλα προσθηκε ταῖς πόλεσω ῆτις ἄριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, Eur. Hel. 42 προὐτέθην ἐγὼ—ἀθλον—δορός. By ὁ ἀρχων is meant the President of the college of Archons, called ἐπώνυμος not because he was ἐπώνυμος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, but because for reasons arising from his official position, his name headed several official lists (Lange Leipziger Studien I p. 159). He had the general superintendence of the greater Dionysia and

of the Thargelia. 17 avrove scil. Too's yooous. the γορηγία was one of the so-called έγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι or 'public services required of each citizen in rotation . The duties of the youngol of whom there were ten, one for each tribe, consisted in providing the choreutae and in paying the expenses of a trainer (Υυροδιδάσκαλος) for them, in maintaining them while they were in training, also in paying the expenses of their dresses, crowns and masks. Cf. Occon. 18 άλλοις seil, γοροδιδασκάλοις. ανάνκην ποοστιθέναι, 'to apply coercion'; ep. Cyr. II iv 12 dvdγκην αυτώ προσθείναι, de rep. Lac. x 7 έπέθηκε την άνυπόστατον 19 εύθύς, 'obviously', 'as appears at once'; cp. άνάγκην. τὸ ἐπίχαρι, 'the agreeable part'; Cyr. τ iv 4 ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις πάμπαν έπίχαρις, Anab. II vi 12 το έπίχαρι ούκ είγεν (i.e. morum suavitatem) άλλ' άει γαλεπός ήν και ώμός. The superlative έπιχαριτώτατος occurs in the Occon, vii 37, and the adverb έπιχαρίτως in Apolog. 4. 20 eyévero, gnomic aorist, G. § 205, 2, HA, § 849, τά ἀντίτυπα, contraria. the reverse of τὸ ἐπίγαρι (cf. Theogn. 1244 ήθος ἔγων δόλιον. πίστιος άντίτυπον), or molesta 'repellent', 'harsh'. It occurs in the sense of 'adverse' in Hell. vi iii 12 όρω - πολλά άντίτυπ α γεγνόμενα.

- § 5 l. 21 τί κωλύει; quid obstat quo minus? quidni? 'what is there to prevent?' 'what reason is there why not?' τάλλα τὰ πολιτικά, cetera civilia, 'the other municipal affairs'. μὲν γάρ: see note to iii § 7. 22 αι πόλεις αι μὲν—αι δέ, cf. l. 4. 23 κατά φυλάς: Attica was divided into ten phylae, Lacedaemon into six morae, Thebes and Argos into lochi (Hell. vi iv 13; vn ii 4). That λόχος may mean 'a union for civil purposes' is evident from Aristotle's Pol. v 8, p. 1309 a, l. 12 κατά φρατρίας και λόχους και φυλάς, Dem. de cor. 106 τῶν έν τοῖς λόχους συντελειῶν.
- § 6 l. 25 τούτοις scil. τοῖς μέρεσι. 27 ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμφ, 'for bravery in the field'. This is the third attributive position, the first being τῆς ἐν πολέμφ ἀλκῆς, the second τῆς ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμφ. The word ἀλκή is one of the many poetical expressions found in Xen. It occurs again in Hell, vr i

- 28 δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις: cf. the passage from the de red. iii 3 quoted above l. 16. ἐκός (sc. ἐστὶ) ἀσκάσθαι, G. § 226, 4. 29 ταῦτα πάντα scil. εὐοπλίαν, εὐταξίαν κτλ. διὰ φιλονικίαν, 'through competition'. Below l. 33 διὰ φιλονικίας = φιλονίκως, 'in a spirit of rivalry', ἐντόνως (ἐν, τείνω), studiose, 'vigorously', 'zealously'.
- § 7 1. 30 Kal-ye: i § 17. Swoi Séoi: G. § 233. yourvos: vii 1. The dr must be repeated with elopepoler. 32 τούτου scil. τοῦ είσφέρειν χρήματα. אמן דם אמיτων νε χρησιμώτατον—Εξεργαζομένοις: 'and agriculture itself. which of all (things) is the most useful employment, though it has not been usual to encourage it by means of competition. would make great progress, if prizes were to be offered to those who cultivated the land best by fields or by villages'. HA. § 626 b. 34 αν επιδοίη, incrementum caperet, 'would advance', 'improve'. Thuc. VII 8 καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδιδοῦσαν την τών πολεμίων Ισχύν, Plato Hipp. mai. p. 281 p al άλλαι τέγναι ἐπιδεδώκασι. 36 The order is: τῶν πολιτῶν (G. § 168) τοις τρεπομένοις έρρωμένως είς τοῦτο Bcil. είς τὸ έξεργάζεσθαι την γην, not els τὸ άθλα προτιθέναι κτλ. 37 έρρωμένως, 'vigorously', adv. from ἐρρωμένος part. perf. pass, of ῥώννυμι, comp. έρρωμενέστερος, superl. έρρωμενέστατος. Plutarch Apophth, p. 175 A tells a story of Gelon, Hieron's brother, how expres πολλάκις τούς Συρακοσίους ώς έπι στρατείαν την φυτείαν (i.e. ad agrorum culturam tamquam in militiam), όπως ήτε γώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη και μή χείρους αὐτοί σχολάζοντες.
- § 8 1. 39 ή σωφροσύνη, modestia, 'a sober, law-abiding spirit'. 40 συμπαρομαρτοίη: cf. vi 6. και μήν, 'and further'. κακουργίαι—ἐμφύονται, 'vice seldom springs up amongst those who are actively employed': cf. vii 3.
- § 9 1. 41 et, 'if, as is the case'. 42 τι, aliquantum, 'in some appreciable measure'. τιμώμενος αν έμπόρους αν πλείους άγείροι, 'the bestowing marks of distinction on one who applies himself to it (trade) with the greatest diligence would be the means of increasing the number of traders in proportion' (καί). Observe that the αν of the principal

verb is here attached to the emphatic word at the opening of the sentence and repeated in immediate connexion with the verb, from which it has been thus removed to a distance: see G. MT. § 42, 3 with Note 1 and cp. Anab. 1 iii 19 οὖτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἀν φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα καὶ ἀπίωντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀν ἀπίοιμεν, Oecon. xvii 13 τῷ οὖν κατιλυθέντι τὶ ἀν ποιοῦντες δοκοῦσιν ἄν σοι ἐπικουρῆσαι; The participle τιμώμενος here takes the place of a protasis = εἰ τιμῷτο. ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν sc. τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι, qui mercaturam exercet.

22 44 πρόσοδόν τινα άλυπον, 'some mode of raising revenue which would not be vexatious to his subjects'. 45 τιμήσεται, one of the verbs in which the fut. middle has a passive meaning: others are λέξομαι, μισήσομαι, στυγήσομαι, άλώσομαι, ἀρξομαι, ἐάσομαι, οικήσομαι, ἀδικήσομαι, ζημιώσομαι, ἀνιάσομαι, δηλώσομαι, καλοῦμαι, όνειδιοῦμαι, φθονήσομαι (xi 15). οὐδ' αὕτη ἀν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῦτο, 'this sort of speculation also would not be neglected'. Cf. Cyr. 11 iii 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται (neglegitur, infectum relinquitur) τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων.

§ 10 1.46 ws Se συνελόντι είπειν sc. τινί, 'to speak concisely', lit. 'for one to say it, bringing the matter to a point'; G. § 184, 5, HA. § 956. 47 ral is to be taken closely with κατὰ πάντα, 'in every department also'. dyaθόν τι είσηγούμενος, 'the proposer of any good suggestion'; 48 driuntos, 'unrewarded', a see n. to i 15 l. 87. word not found elsewhere in Xen. For its usual meaning in Attic Greek see lex. 49 ξονον ποιείσθαι το σκοπείν τι dya66v, 'to apply himself diligently (lit. to make it a business) to making some useful discovery'; τὸ σκοπεῖν being the object and Epyor the predicate accusative, HA. § 726. In this sense ξργον ποιείσθαι or ξχειν is usually followed by the infinitive alone without τό: e.g. Mem. II x 6 ξργον είχε σκοπείν, Agesil. xi 12 ά μαυρούν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον είχεν, Plat. Phaedr. p. 232 Α έργον τοῦτο ποιουμένους εc. ἀκολουθεῖν τοις έρωμένοις, Dio Chrysost, p. 394 d αὐτό τοῦτο Εργον πεποιημένων έγκωμιάζειν; or by a participle as in Cyr. viii iv 6 ξργον έχειν δεόμενον τούτου κοινωνείν τούς παρόντας (enixe rogare praesentes ut partem ciborum caperent). 50 Kal-ye: 1. 30. δταν πολλοῖς περί τῶν ἀφελίμων μέλη: for the usual construction πολλοῖς τῶν ἀφελίμων μέλη: cp. Herod. VIII 19 κομιδ ἢς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν (where τὴν ὥρην is wrongly taken as the subject of μελήσειν by some commentators), Arist. Lys. 502 ὑμῶν δὲ πόθεν περί τοῦ πολέμου τῆς τ' εἰρήνης ἐμέλησεν; Plato Alcib. 2, p. 150 do οδτος ῷ μέλει περί σοῦ. 51 ἀνάγκη sc. ἐστί. ἐψίσκεσθαι scil. τὰ ἀφέλιμα.

§ 11 l. 53 προτιθεμένων: the common reading προτεθειμένων has been justly condemned by Cobet, since in purely classical Greek κείμαι is the recognised perfect passive of τίθημι. See my n. on Plutarch Themist. xviii 1. 54 our foten. G. 8 28. 3 Note 1, HA, § 480. έμπορεύματα, quaestus genera, 'articles of commerce', commodities. λυσιτελέστερα, quae facilius comparentur, 'that cost less'. Cf. de red. iv 30. 55 ἄθλων. G. 178, HA. § 746. 57 mucod dola, in reference to the simple prizes which were given to the winners at the great games, a garland of wild olive or parsley. 58 **ÉLÉVETAL**. 'call forth', 'elicit', not as Liddell-Scott translate 'bring on'. 'entail'. Cf. Cyr. 11 ii 15 έκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οίμαι, ράον ἄν τις έκτρίψειεν ή γέλωτα έξαγάγοιτο ('provoke', 'excite'). See my note on the passage.

CHAPTER X

Hieron asks Simonides whether he can recommend him any means of avoiding the unpopularity due to the employment of foreign mercenaries as a body guard (§ 1).

Simonides shows how they may be so handled and disciplined as to afford defence against foreign attack, to ensure for the citizens undisturbed leisure in their own private affairs, to protect and befriend the honest man, and to use force only against criminals. If thus employed, such mercenaries, instead of being hated, would be welcome companions, and the citizens would gladly furnish contributions for their support (§ 2—§ 8).

§ 1 l. 3 exes τι είπειν ώς μή μισείσθαι δί αὐτούς; num proferre quid poteris, quod efficere possit, ut invisi non simus ob

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eos (mercennarios milites)? The indefinite subject of the infinitive is unexpressed, HA. § 942. On the use of ώπ in the sense of ώπτε consecutive, see Index to my Cyrop. 1 p. 354 b.

4 κτησάμενος: G. § 226, 1, HA. § 969 d. 5 ούδέν. 'not at all', the quantitative accusative, as the measure of the degree of the act or process, cf. i 23.

- § 2 l. 6 ναὶ μὰ Δία: see n. to i. 13. μὲν οὖν, immo vero, 'nay rather', for one thing (μέν) decidedly (οὖν): see n. on Oecon. vii 37. 7 ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται—εἶναι, 'it is natural to some men to be etc.' Cf. Eur. Iph. Aul. 1244 αἴσθημά τι κάν νηπίοις γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγνεται.
- 8 σσφ, G. § 188, 2, HA. § 781 a; μᾶλλον is to be understood with the predicate adjective ἔκπλεα from the correlative clause. So in Latin, e.g. Tac. Ann. 1 57 barbaris, quanto quis auducia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior habetur; 111 46 quanto pecunia dites, tanto magis imbelles. 9 ββριστοτέροις: comp. of ὅβριστος (not of ὑβριστής). The word occurs again in Cyr. v v 41; also in Herod. III 81 and Plato legg. 641 c.
- § 3 1. 9 τούς—τοιούτους, 'such men as these'. The article is used because the notion of a class is rendered prominent.
- 10 ἃν σωφρονίζοι, 'would sober down, bring to their senses'. Cp. Cyr. 111 i 20. ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος: Cyr. 1 i 5 τῷ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ φόβος, 111 iii 53 τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβου. 12 ἄν δοκεῖς—παρασχεῖν: the ἀν is anticipated hyperbatically as often with οίμαι etc.; cf. i 3. Translate: 'as for the respectable part of the community, there is nothing, it seems to me, by means of which you might confer so great services on them as by the troops kept in your pay'. For the meaning of καλὸς κάγαθὸς see Occon. vi 11 ff. and for ἀπὸ, 'by means of', cf. xi 1 note.
 - § 4 l. 14 φύλακας: see note to ix 10 l. 49.
- 23.15 δεσπόται, 'masters' of slaves. ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων ἀπθανον: see note to vii 8. 16 The order is εἰ οῦν τοῦτ' εἶη πρῶτον ἐν τῶν προστεταγμένων. 17 ὡς ὄντας: for the case cf. note to ii 8 l. 39. 18 ἄν π. τουδταν

alσθάνωνται, 'should they perceive any thing of the kind', i.e. any conspiracy of slaves against their masters. 19 γίγγονται δέ που κτλ., existunt autem, opinor, malefici, 'and, as every one knows, criminals are found in every community'. -elev rerayuévol, a resumption of the first protasis, occasioned by the parenthetic clause γίγνονται-έν πόλεσιν. 21 και τούτους scil, τούς πολίτας, not τούς κακούργους, as the kal alone indicates. καl τοῦτο, i 8, vii 2 note. 22 αν είδειεν-ώφελούμενοι, G. § 280, § 136 Note 4, HA. § 982.

αὐτών of course refers to τών μισθοφόρων.

§ 5 1. 22 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, 'in addition to this'; G. p. 240, 23 κτήνεσιν (κτάομαι), 'cattle', regarded as pro-6 (2). perty. 24 ούτοι scil. οί μισθοφόροι. 25 όμοίως μέν 26 rols and the xwoar, 'those all -- duolos de: i 5 note. over the country', i.e. belonging to others. νε μήν, 'moreover', is little more than a stronger form of $\delta \epsilon$.

The history of the particle $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu$, both singly and in combination with other particles, deserves close investigation. With ye, sai and alla it serves most frequently to introduce something new or deserving special attention, or in connecting the second part of a syllogism with the first. It sometimes, however, has an adversative force. In old Attic prose it is rarely found, seldom in Andokides, only five times in Antiphon, nine times in Thucydides (always in combination with sai or sol. In later Greek writers, Lysias, Isokrates, Xenophon, ἀλλὰ μήν is common enough. There is no instance, however, in the two oldest speeches of Lysias, XII (or. contra Eratosthenem) and XIII (or. c. Agoratum). In the pseudo-tetralogy of Antiphon I γ § 5, we find οὐδὲ μήν, and άλλα μήν in the speech of the Pseudo-Andokides against Alkibiades. Aristophanes uses καὶ μήν seventy-eight times, γε μήν four times (Eq. 233, Nub. 631, 823, Lys. 144), οὐ μήν Nub. 53, Tagen. fr. 7, Vesp. 268, Pac. 41, οὐδὲ μήν Vesp. 480, Ran. 263, Eccl. 1075, 1085, Plut. 373. άλλὰ μήν Av. 385, Ran. 258, and in the Megarian's speech, Ach. 766, 771. My does not occur in any combination in the Kynegetikos, nor in the first part of the Hellenika I i 1-II iii 10. In the Oekonomikos, oviče μήν is found only once, and άλλα μήν only twice; γε μήν is very common in Xenophon, with whom it is not much more than a stronger $\delta \epsilon$: it is found in the Hieron, Symposion, Hellenika II iii 11-v i, Anabasis (I ix 16, 20, V vii 23, VII vi 15, 41, vii 32) and Cyropaedeia. It occurs six times in the Memorabilia (I iv 5, vi 6, III vi 12, viii 10, ix 6, xi 10), while άλλὰ μήν is found twenty-eight times, οὐδὲ μήν four times, and καὶ μήν twenty-six times. In the Symposion alla univ is used four times, καὶ μήν nine times, γε μήν thirteen times. In the Symposion again uńν is found at the end of a question, iii 13; iv 55 ἐπὶ τῷ μήν; 4, 23 άλλὰ πότε μήν; and so in the Cyropaedeia I vi 28 πως μήν; II ii 11

dλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι; III i 41 ἀλλὰ τίνα μήν; VII iv 10 τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα; Hell. VI iii 13 τί μὴν ἤκομεν; In the third part of the Hellenika, v ii—VII, in the de vectigalibus, the de re equestri, the hipparchikos, the Agesilaos, the Lac. resp. γε μήν is very common, in the de re equestri it is found as many as forty times, whereas καὶ μήν occurs only four times, i 7, 9, 11, ν 4, μήτε μήν only once, ix 11. But the attempt to found independent conclusions on these statistics, exhibiting the frequency or rarity of the occurrence of μήν either singly or in combination with other particles, as to the date of a particular writing—as has been attempted by Dittenberger (Hermes Vol. xiv) in the case of the Platonic dialogues—has been shown by Dr Hartmann (Analecta Xenophontea p. 35—p. 54) to lead to such curious and unsatisfactory results, that no reliance can be placed on them.

27 σχολήν—ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, G. § 261, 1, HA. § 952. 28 τα ἐπίκαιρα, loca opportuna, 'advantageous positions'. Cf. Oecon. xx 9.

§ 3 1, 30 ξαπιναίας: an Ionic word, found several times in Xen. έτοιμότεροι soil. είσιν. 32 άλλα μήν: iv 1, above 1, 26. 35 εἰκός sc. ἐστί.

§ 7 l. 35 ἀγχιτέρμονας, a poetical word. 36 δια τους del èν ὅπλοις ὅντας, 'because of standing armies'. 37 καl εἰρήνης: It is difficult to render the force of καί by any single word, but it is generally identical with the emphasis. 40 οδτοι εc. οι μισθοφόροι. κακὸν ούδὲν ποιοῦσι τὸν

μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, G. § 165, § 283, 4, HA. § 1025 a.
42 κωλύουσι scil. κακουργεῖν.
43 τῶν πολιτῶν, G. § 177.

44 dvdγκη scil. ἐστί, ΗΑ. § 611 a. δαπανᾶν sc. τοὺς 24 τολίτας. els τούτους, viii 9. 45 ῆδιστα, libentissime. γοῦν, see note to ii 8. ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων, 'for objects of less moment than these'.

CHAPTER XI

A despot should also not grudge the employment of his own private means for the public service, but he ought to consider and have at heart the general prosperity rather than his own private advantage (§ 1—§ 5).

His proper field of competition is not with private persons but with the rulers of other states, and the summit of his ambition should be to make his own the most prosperous. By so doing he will win the gratitude, sympathy and willing obedience of his own subjects, and become the object of general admiration not only to them but to other communities (§ 6—§ 13).

In conclusion, Simonides urges Hieron to carry out in practice the hints he has given, and assures him that by a wise and philanthropic exercise of his power he will find his subjects obeying him willingly, and caring for him of their own accord, and obtain the finest and most enviable of all acquisitions, security, prosperity and happiness unmarred by jealousy (§ 14—§ 15).

§ 1 l. 1 ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων—δαπανᾶν: On the use of ἀπό to denote the means or instrument see Kühner on Mem. 1 ii 14, and of. Anab. 1 i 9 στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, Plut. Themist. iv 2, l. 23 ἐκατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, Oec. iii 1 τοὺς ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου οἰκίας ἀχρήστους οἰκοδομοῦντας.

2 els τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν: see n. on x 8.

4 els τὸ δέον τελείσθαι: utiliter expendi. Anab. 1 iii 8 ἔλεγε θαρρεῦν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον, i.e. 'since this matter would be settled in the right way', Arist. Nub. 859 ὥσπερ Περικλέης εἰς τὸ δέον ἀπώλεσα (sc. τὰς ἐμβάδας).

5 ἀνδρὶ τυράννψ: see note on viii 10.

§ 2 1. 5 καθ' έν ξκαστον, 'each point in detail'. Cf. Ages. vii 1 καθ' ἐν μὲν ἔκαστον μακρὸν ἀν εἴη γράφειν, Dem. de Cor. p. 230, 20 βούλομαι δέ καθ' έν ξκαστον αὐτῶν έξετάσαι. Mid. c. 39 ώστε δύνασθαι καθ' ένα ύμων έκαστον άποστερείν: καθ' ἔν may either be taken with ἔκαστον, or adverbially 'one by one'. Hertlein on Cyr. 1 vi 22 quotes the following passages in which there is no room for doubt: Xen. Hell, I vii 23 κρινέσθωσαν οι ανδρες κατά ένα έκαστον, Lysias 8, 19 καθ' ένα έκαστον ύμιν αύτοις απεχθήσεσθε, Demosth. 44, 4 τας μαρτυρίας καθ' έν ξκαστον παρέξομαι. 6 οίκίαν πρώτον ή: πότερον, when ή follows in the alternative question, is often omitted, Cyr. III i 12. ύπερβαλλούση δαπάνη, 'with lavish cost'. 8 κόσμον αν σοι παρέχειν, 'would bring you credit'. 9 παραστάσι, columnis, 'pilasters'. 'παραστάδες (παραστάς) were square pilasters, used as a termination to the side walls of a temple, when those side walls are projected beyond the face of the cella or main body of the building. As one of these pilasters is required on each side to form a corresponding support, the word is always used in the plural [in Eur. Androm. 1122 we have παραστάδος κρεμαστά τεύχη πασσάλων καθαρπάσας, Ed.]; and thus a temple is said to be in antis or ἐν παραστάσι (Vitruv. 111 ii 2) when the porch is formed by the projection of the side walls, terminated as described by two square pilasters, which have two columns between them'. Rich's illustr. Comp. etc. p. 38 b. Schneider after Ernesti would read παστάσι, 'porticoes'.

- § 3 l. 11 ἐκπαγλοτάτοις, 'most magnificent, aweinspiring', a poet. word, which occurs only in this passage in prose. Cobet N. L. p. 549 says vehementer de mendo suspecta haec scriptura est et perridicula mihi quidem videturesse. Quae sunt enim δπλα δεινότατα, quaeso? De armis λαμπρότατα aut simile quid in tali re recte dicitur, sed nihil statuere licet in libris tam male habitis et omni mendorum genere inquinatis.

 κατακεκοσμημένος = εί κατακεκοσμημένος είης, G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902.

 13 ούσης = εί είη: σοι dative of the possessor, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 768.
- § 4 l. 14 τὰ σὰ τδια, 'your own private capital'. I prefer this the reading of some MSS to the ordinary τὰ σὰ ιδια. See above x 5 τοῖς σοῖς ιδίοις.

 ἐἰ ἐνεργὰ ἔχους, 'if you were to keep employed, put out to interest'. Cf. Dem. c. Aphob. 1 p. 815, 15 δεῖ καθ' ἔκαστον ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι τὰ τ' ἐνεργὰ ('productive') αὐτών καὶ δσα ῆν ἀργά.
- § 5 1. 18 άρματοτροφίαν, in definitive apposition to έπιτήδευμα, ΗΑ. § 624 c. The order is: ποτέρως δοκεῖς ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ νομιζόμενον εἶναι κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον πάντων, ἀρματοτροφίαν, ἀν κοσμεῖν σε μᾶλλον.
- 19 el αὐτὸς—πέμποις. On the victories of Hieron in the chariot races celebrated by Pindar see Introd. πλείστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων: ΗΑ. § 650.

- 21 πλείστοι μέν—πλείστοι 8έ, see n. on i 5.
 22 νικῶν, 'to be superior to others'.
 23 ἀρετῷ, 'excellence',
 cf. ii 2.
- § 6 l. 24 ἐγὰ μέν, i 7. 25 οὐδὲ προσήκαν κτλ., 'that it is not even becoming for a despot to enter the lists with private persons'. 26 νικῶν, i.q. εἰνικψης. 27 φθονοῖο: the ἀν must be repeated from preceding clause. ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων, 'by means of several estates', 'from the substance of many families', the means being considered as the starting point, cf. l. 1. τὰς δαπάνας, G. § 141 Note 2. 28 νικώμενος, i.q. εἰνικῷο. πάντων μάλιστα: see note to iii 6.
- 25 § 7 l. 30 ὧν (sc. πόλεων). 32 εἶ ἔσει νικῶν, see cr. n. 33 ἐν ἀνθρώποις, 'in the world'. Cobet would read with Schneider and Heindorf τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις as below l. 69, Cyr. II ii 17 οὐδὲν ἀνισώτερον νομίζω τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι τοῦ τῶν ἴσων τόν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαι, Agesil. viii 6 πῶν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, Mem. II iii 14 πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φίλτρα; but cp. on the other hand Cyr. vII ii 28 ἢν ἐφίλουν μάλιστ' ἀνθρώπων, Plat. Lys. p. 211 Ε καὶ βουλοίμην ἄν μοι φίλον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν ἀνθρώπων, Τheset. p. 148 Β ἄριστα γ' ἀνθρώπων.
 - § 8 1. 34 εὐθύς, 'at the very outset'. κατεργασμένος άν εἴης κτλ., 'you will have secured at once the love of your subjects, which is the very object of your ambition'. 37 δ ἀνακηρύττων: i 15. The allusion is to the proclamation by the herald of the victors in the games.
 - § 9 1. 38 περίβλεπτος, see note to vii 2. 41 παρά πᾶστιν, apid omnes.
 - § 10 l. 41 ξείη μὲν—ξείη δέ: see on l. 21. 42 ξνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, 'so far as security is concerned', 'if security be all'. Cyr. 111 ii 30 ξξεσται ήμῶν ἐκείνου ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι, de red. iii 1 ὅπου ἔστιν είσορμισθέντας ἀδεῶς ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύεσθαι, Isocr. xv 163 ἀσφαλῶς ἀν ἔζων ἔνεκά γε τῶν συκοφαντῶν. The form ἔνεκεν is dialectic.

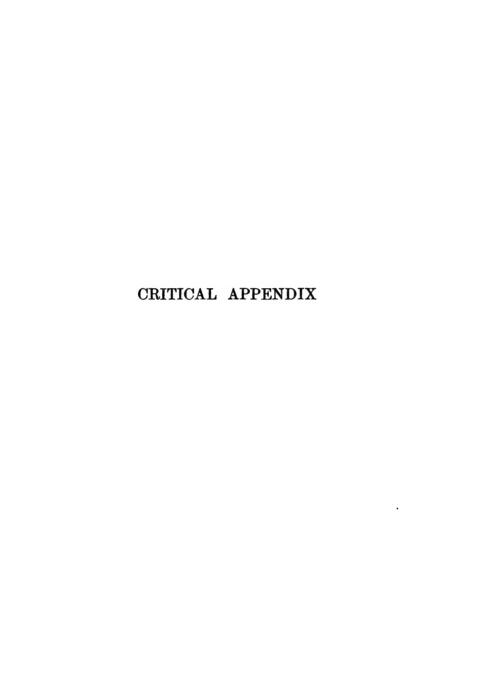
According to Meisterhans (Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften p. 103-4) in inscriptions from 400-300 B.c. the proportion of the frequency of $\xi \nu \epsilon \kappa a$: $\xi \nu \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu = 28$: 1. From 200—100 B.C. $\xi \nu \epsilon \kappa \alpha$: $\xi \nu \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu = 4$: 12. θεωρήσοντι i.e. vel ludos vel alia θεάματα; Anab. V iii 7 άφικνείται Μεγάβυζος els 'Ολυμπίαν θεωρήσων, i.e. ludos spectaturus. There is a reference in this remark to those in i 11, 12, 13, μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν, 'to stay at home and do so', i.e. $\theta \epsilon \omega$ ρείν. αὐτοῦ = ol κοι, domi, lit. 'in the selfsame spot where 44 τῶν βουλομένων: there is no μέν, because the sentence following has de kal 'and also'. Sakyúyai et tís ti-tyoi, 'to exhibit whatever he may have (to exhibit) that is either ingenious, beautiful, or useful'. ru=si quis quid i.e. quodcumque quis; cf. v i 2. On the assimilated optative fyor see G. § 23, 5, 1.

- § 11 l. 47 πάς ὁ μὲν παρὰν—ὁ δὲ ἀπών, 'every one admitted to your presence would be devoted to your person, and every one at a distance would be desirous of seeing you'. On the partitive apposition see v i 5. 48 τοτε, quamobrem, marks a strong conclusion as in iv 8. 50 ἀλλ'άλλους παρέχους scil. ἀν φόβον.
- § 12 l. 50 ἐκόντας sc. $\pi \epsilon \iota \theta \circ \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \circ \nu s$, G. § 138 N. 7, 'your subjects would pay you a voluntary obedience'. 51 σοῦ προνοοῦντας, G. § 177. 52 θεῷο, present opt. 2nd pers. sing. from $\theta \epsilon \mathring{a} \sigma \theta a \iota$. 53 και προθύμους 'and that too, zealous'. $\kappa \alpha l = \kappa \alpha l \ \tau \alpha \mathring{\nu} \tau a$, see Schaefer on Gregor. Cor. p. 987 n. 54 πολλῶν μὰν ἀξιούμενος: the μέν is transposed; it belongs properly to ἀξιούμενος. See note on i 9. 55 δτφ $= \mathring{\psi} \tau \iota \nu \iota$. εὐμενεί: predicate adjective, 'never at a loss for some friend to share them with'.
- § 18 1. 58 γε μήν, 'and further'. See n. to x 5. θησαυρούς, 'as treasures'. For πλούτους cp. Plat. Rep. vi p.
 495 a, p. 619 a ὑπὸ πλούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν, p. 618
 Β πλούτοις καὶ πενίαις, Gorg. p. 523 c γένη καὶ πλούτους.
 26 59 ἀλλά, in exhortations='then'. 60 θαρρῶν, confidenter,
 'without hesitation'. Cf. HA. 968 a, Cyr. 11 ii 15 εἰς τοὺς
 πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπανήσεις. 61 σαυτῷ περιάψεις.

'you will win', lit. 'attach to yourself', Mem. 11 vi 13 περιάψας τι άγαθὸν αὐτῷ (τῷ πόλει), Cyr. 1 v 9 νομίζοντες μεγάλας τιμάς και αὐτοῖς και τῷ πόλει περιάψειν. But the word is generally used in a bad sense with words denoting discredit etc., as in Plat. Apol. p. 35 A, αισχύνην τῷ πόλει περιάπτειν, Arist. Plut. 590 πολὺ τῆς πενίας πρᾶγμ' αισχιον ζητεῖς αὐτῷ περιάψαι. 62 κτῶ δὲ αὐτῷ συμμάχους: Weiske and Breitenbach think that a sentence is wanting after this to complete the parallelism; the latter suggests σαντῷ γὰρ ἔξεις συμμαχοῦντας, 'for you will thus gain supporters of your own power'.

§ 14 1. 63 νόμιζε οἶκον, G. § 166. 65 ὅτι περ, i.q. ταὐτδ δ, 'the very thing which', 'the same thing as'; always in neuter. So δσαπερ quemadmodum, Cyr. $\mathbf{i} \mathbf{v}$ 12 νυκτὶ...δσαπερ οἱ ἀλλοι ἡμέρα δύναισθ' ἀν χρῆσθαι, λιμῷ δὲ δσαπερ δύψ διαχρῆσθε, Hellen. $\mathbf{v}\mathbf{i}$ i 15 \mathbf{i} κανός ἐστι καὶ νυκτὶ δσαπερ ἡμέρα χρῆσθαι, Ages. $\mathbf{v}\mathbf{i}$ 66 νικάν εὖ ποιών, 'to surpass them in acts of beneficence'.

§ 15 l. 66 ἐἀν κρατῆς τοὺς Φίλους, 'if you get firm hold (secure the attachment) of your friends'. 67 où un 8úyevra, 'they will not be able', G. § 257, HA. § 1032. Dindorf and Cobet (p. 567) require δυνήσονται, on the ground that ού μή can only be used with future indicative or a orist subjunctive, not with the present subjunctive. But δύναμαι and elul seem to form exceptions to this rule, see G. MT. § 89, 1, § 89, 2 Rem. 2. 68 kav for kal éáv. too is inserted in the sentence without grammatical connexion to denote an assurance, just as ofer is inserted with a question, and δοκῶ, δοκεῖ μοι, to denote the thing said as conjecture or opinion. Cf. above vii 1, Oecon. x 13; ev late Hell. v i 14; m v 11; Cobet would read εν τσθ' δτι. έν άνθρώποις, see note to 1. 33. 70 κεκτήσει, ' νου will become possessed of'. εύδαιμονών ού φθονήσει. 'you will be happy and yet un-envied'. The common reading is φθονηθήση, a form of later Greek, which, as Cobet remarks, copyists were fond of substituting for the genuine. See above ix 9.





APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

General Remarks

MANUSCRIPTS

It is a subject of regret and not a little remarkable, considering the popularity of Xenophon, that we have no very ancient good Mss of his works1, of the Hieron in particular2; the best and earliest is not older than the xiith Century,

Since the publication of my first edition, a fresh collation of fourteen ass of the Hieron, made by or for Professor C.

¹ Cf. Madvig Adversaria critica 1 p. 335; 'omnium Xenophontis operum codices fere satis recentes sunt et in orationis et sententiarum forma facile currenti tamen mendis non ita raro interpolatione tectis depravati, valde antiqui et integritate auctorifateque praestantes nulli, etsi in aliis operibus unus et alter minus mendorum et in mendis plura vestigia veri habet'.

² Cf. Cobet Novae Lectiones p. 547 sq. 'In nullo alio libro Xeno-phontis, si Rempublicam Atheniensium et Lacedaemoniorum exceperis, scribae peins grassati sunt quam in Hierone, qui passim pessimis exemplis corruptus et interpolatus in Codicibus perexigui pretil circumfertur. Fieri potest ut aliquando meliores libri in Italia adhue latentes exeutiantur et sic pars menderum tollatur. Nune quam vehementer corrunta sint pleraque et inter legendum facili negotio cognoscitur, si quis hoc agit et quam ista et ab Attico nitore et a Xenophontea scribendi ve-nustate abhorreant dinturna Atticorum et Xenophontis lectione et meditatione agnoscere et sentire didicit. Idem unimadvertet bonam partem mendosarum lectionum sic esse comparatam, ut Criticorum acumine et sollertis in integrum restitui nequeat: non enim έπιπολής sunt et leviora vulnera a scribarum oscitantia, ut fere fit, profecta, sed θπουλα sciolorum temeritate et prava correctorum sedulitate penitus inflicta. Interciderunt subinde complura, alia perperam adhaeserunt, suntque multa menda huiusmodi ut fraudem subesse perspicuum sit, sed quae sit genuina et sana scriptura, quae ipsa Xenophontis manus sit, etiam harum rerum intellegentibus evidenter demonstrari non possit'.

Gustavus Sauppe de Xen, vita et scriptis Comm. (Opp. Vol. 1 p. 2vi): 'neque enim satis veteres (libri manuscripti Xenophontis) aut boni sunt, dolendumque maxime non esse quibus ut praecipuis

ducibus confidere licent'.

Schenkl of the University of Vienna, has been published by him¹. Two of these are of the xiith cent. viz.:—

Vaticanus 1335 (A)

(now restored to the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, whence it was originally removed)

Marcianus 511 (M)

(in the Library of St Mark, Venice; originally the property of Cardinal Bessario)

Two are of the xivth cent. viz.:-

Vaticanus 1950 (D)

(copied from A before that MS was corrected by a second hand)

Ambrosianus (L)

(in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, to which it was brought with others from Chios in $A.D.\ 1606$)

The rest are as late as the xvth cent.

Vaticanus 128 (B)
1334 (C)
Urbinas 93 (E)
Palatinus 143 (F)
Parisinus 1642 (G)
1648 (E)
1648 (E)
1649 (E)
1649

There are in addition to these fifteen mss (of which those at Paris, Milan, Venice and Vienna have been collated by Prof. Schenkl himself), one at Perugia of the xvth century (once the property of the Monastery of St Peter there), another at Cesena, a third at Munich of the same date: of which Schenkl remarks 'cum omnes saeculo xv sint conscripti, exigua vel, ut rectius dicam, nulla sine dubio eorum est fides atque auctoritas'.

¹ C. Schenkl de codicibus quibus in Xenophontis Hierone recenseud utimur in the Mélanges Graux p. 111—p. 129: 'Xenophontis quae dicuntur scripta minora cum omnino fortunam adversam experta sint, librariorum socordia ac neglegentia corrupta, maximam tamen traxit labem libellus qui inscribitur Hiero, merito a Cobeto dictus venuttissimus. nam quae sit librorum manuscriptorum quibus nunc utimur condicio, facile colligitur iis locis, quos Athenseus et Stobaeus ex hoc opuscule excerptos suis operibus inserurennt, perlustratis. qua de re cum Cobetus Nov. Lect. p. 547 aqq. luculenter disputaverit, non meum esse puto rem actam agere, quamquam mini persuasum est Cobetum in scriptura constituenda nimis diligenter Athensei et Stobaei secutum esse vestigia, qui quin in excerptis illis haud pauca pro arbitrio immutaverint, in primis verborum ordinem et constructionem, omiserint multa, alia de suo addiderint, omnino dubitare non licet. quam ob rem si codicibus ipsis, quibus is libellus nobis traditus est, posthabitis Athenseo et Stobaeo ducibus te committas, verendum est, ne ca, quae hi intulerunt, amplectaris, germanas autem Xenophontis scripturas revisias?

The above Mss (setting aside D and M. of which D is a transcript of A and M of N) may be divided into two groups, one containing

ABEGKLN=4

the other

CFHIOP=Z

as may be proved by a comparison of the respective readings in i 7, 10, 11, 13, 27, 28, 31; iv 2, 5, 10; vi 9; vii 4, 6; viii 6; ix 1, 6; x 4,

Of the MSS comprised under Z those which most resemble each other are **F H I P**; **C** and **O** are very closely connected, both have in iv 9 τὰ παραπλήσια; in vii 6 **C** has οὅτω with τε written under, **O** has οὅτε in margin; in viii 3 ἔπαινον is omitted; in viii 4 τοῦ is omitted; and in xi 12 both have μόνον συμμάχους.

The former group Φ may be divided into two classes, in the first of which \mathbf{A} must be placed; all the others (which Schenkl names X) being taken from a ms very like \mathbf{A} . N bears most resemblance to \mathbf{A} ; \mathbf{G} and \mathbf{L} show a considerable difference from it; \mathbf{L} occupies a place intermediate between \mathbf{N} \mathbf{G} and \mathbf{B} \mathbf{E} \mathbf{K} ; the latter are most divergent from \mathbf{A} .

All the MSS were apparently transcripts of a copy, which was not very old and full of errors. A most resembles this copy, but sometimes X and Z present better readings, though generally they are more corrupt. Some of these may have existed in the common original of all the extant MSS, but most of the corrections, no doubt, are traceable to copyists, who corrected a few trifling errors, while they left the more important untouched.

We must therefore make A the basis of our text; whether we are to attribute any weight to the second group (Z) is extremely doubtful.

Besides these MSS, other aids to criticism are furnished by the readings in the extracts in the Vienna MS of Stobacos in his Florilegium xlix 30—46=ch. i 1—ch. vi § 6 with sundry omissions, and in xlvi 109=ch. ix § 1—§ 10. Athenacos also has inserted three passages in his Deipnosophists III p. 121 p, IV p. 144 c and IV p. 171 E

EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

The editio princeps of Xenophon issued from the press of P. Giunta at Florence A.D. 1516 and was reprinted 1527; in the interval appeared the Aldine, Venice A.D. 1526, edited by F. Asulanus; this was followed by one with an Introduction by P. Melanchthon, Halle 1540, and by another at Bâle in 1555 with a Latin Translation by Erasmus.

The editions of Henri Estienne (Stephanus), Paris 1561, 1581, are much more correct than any of the preceding, and form the vulgate. The edition published at Bâle in 1569 contained a Latin version by J. Löwenklaü (Leunclavius); a second edition of this was issued at Frankfurt in 1594, and a third in 1596 containing the notes of Aemilius Portus.

After a long interval followed the edition of Edward Wells Oxford 1708, with Dodwell's Chronologia Xenophontea, 5 vols. 8vo, republished with considerable improvements in the Text by C. A. Thieme, Leipzig 1763—1764 in 4 vols. 8vo with a preface by J. A. Ernesti and three dissertations by T. Hutchinson;

the Editor however did not live to complete the work.

[The old editions of the *Hieron* were based on such MSS as BEK. Reuchlin used one of the MSS that fall under the group denoted by Z. Most of the readings noted by Stephanus in the margin of his Edition are taken from M, as 1 7 et π, 11 1 κακοδαμωνάν. The various readings of Villoison were taken from MK; they contain therefore nothing authoritative.]

There are also Editions of the entire works by:

J. C. Zeunius, Leipzig, 1778-1782, 6 vols.

B. Weiske, Leipzig, 1789--1804, 6 vols. 8vo.

- J. Gottlob Schneider, Leipzig, 1806—1815 (reprinted at Oxford 1810—1817): ed. 3 Cyropaedeia by F. A. Bornemann, Opuscula minora by G. A. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1888, Hellenica 1849.
- J. B. Gail, Paris, 1797—1815, 7 vols. 4to (the Greek Text with a French version and critical notes by the Editor in the 7th volume).

G. H. Schaefer, Leipzig, 1811-1813, 6 vols. 16mo.

L. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1824, ed. 2, 1880.

Didot, Script. Graec. Bibl. Paris 1838, ed. 2, 1861.

The edition in the Bibliotheca Graeca of Rost-Jacobs, 4 vols. 8vo. Gotha 1828—1846.

- G. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1865—1866, 5 vols. 8vo with Appendicula containing critical notes on the scripta minora, 1869.
- C. Schenkl, Berlin, 1876 (Vols. 1 and 11 only published, neither containing the *Hieron*).

There are several separate Editions of the Hieron by :-

Johann Reuchlin, Hagenaw 1520 sm. 4to containing the Apologia and Agesilaus with the Hieron: praised for its accuracy by Stephanus, Dindorf, Frotscher, Sauppe.

C. H. Frotscher, Leipzig, 1822, 8vo.

R. Hanow, Halle, 1885, 8vo.

C. Graff, Leipzig, 1842.

G. A. Sauppe, Helmstadt, 1841, 8vo.

L. Breitenbach, Gotha, 1847, 8vo. (forming part of the Bibliotheca Graeca edited by Jacobs and Nost).

Some useful observations are given by J. H. Bremi in Symbol. Philol. Helvet. I p. 167 ff, Zurich 1819; by Th. E. Richter de locis quibusdam Hieronis Xenophontei, Liegnitz 1837, by N. I. B. Kappeyne Van de Coppello in his inaugural dissertation Leyden 1841 (reviewed by Breitenbach in the Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft, 1845 Nr. 70, p. 553—p. 563), by C. Frank in his Review of Breitenbach's edition ZAW 1848, p. 294—p. 299, and by C. G. Cobet in his Novae Lectiones p. 547—p. 568. G. A. Sauppe's Lexilogus Xenophonteus or grammatical Index to the entire works is a useful supplement to Sturz's Lexicon.

B. Critical Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

Br =Breitenbach	Sa = G. Sauppe
Co = Cobet	Sch = Schaefer
Dind=L, Dindorf	Sehn = Schneider
Fr = Frotscher	Steph = editio Stephaniana
Ha = Hanow	T = codices omnes

CHAPTER I

- 1 § 1 l. 4 εἰδέναι: καὶ εἰδέναι Sa vulgo. 6 ὁποῖα δὴ ἰγώ
 —ἄν εἰδείην codd.; ὁποῖα ἐγώ Stobacus: ὁποῖ' ἄν ἐγώ—
 εἰδείην Cobetus δὴ ex ἄν natum esse ratus et obscuratam sic particulam, cum desideraretur a nescio quo correctore, in alienum locum insertam.
 - § 2 l. 11 ό τυραννικός Co cum AD: vulgo ὁ τυραννικός τε. Μοχ ίδιωτικός Sa cum CDGIKOP. See Riddell Dig. of Plat. idioms § 237 r where several passages are adduced from Plato, to show the irregularity with which the article is expressed and omitted, when it has to be supplied from a preceding to a subsequent clause. Cf. Shilleto on Thuc. 1 10, 4.
 - § 3 1. 14 oux of cum Stobaco Co: oux i kal of vulgo.
- 2 § 5 1. 28 κοινή Sa vulgo: καὶ κόινή cum D Br.
 - § 7 1. 39 ἐν τίνι διαφέρει Frank, Schenkl: εἶ τινι δ. vulgo: ὅτι δ. cum Stobaco Co. βίου quod vulgo legitur por Ἰδιωτικοῦ omisi secutus Cobetum; βίος om. Stobacus.

- § 8 l. 40 εν τοίσδε διαφέρα vulgo: ἐν μὲν τοῖσδε διαφέροι ἄν εἰ τολλαπλάσια κτέ Stobaeus, unde Cobetus ἐν μὲν τόδε διαφέροι ἄν coniecit.
- § 9 1. 48 $\epsilon t \chi \epsilon$ cum Stobaeo Weiske Schn Dind; $\dot{\ell} \chi \epsilon \iota$ cum libris Br Fr.
- 3 § 11 l. 56 θεάμασι delet Coppello: si quid mutandum, equidem malim verba διὰ τῆς δψεως delere cum Schenklio.
 - 60 θεαμάτων ένεκα om. Schn Co. 61 δοκεῖ εἶναι Υ: εἶναι ita demum retineri potest, si aut δοκοῦντα scribas et mox συναγείρεται aut oum Leonclavio ένθα ά ἀξιοθεατύτατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται.
 - § 12 l. 67 ἄμα vulgo: ἄμα τε Α (τε m²) G L M.
 - § 18 l. 69 ἀλλ' ἀρα Sa vulgo: ἀλλά Co. Cf. Mem. 111 iii 2, xi 4, 1v iv 2, 22, Ages. vii 5. 71 ἀλίγα γε Sa Co: ὀλίγα τε vulgo. 73 πολλάπλάσια— ἡ ὅσα vulgo: ἡ om. Zonaras p. 152 c.
- § 14 l. 77 τοῖς θεάμασι vulgo: ἐντοῖς θεάμασι malit Co. 4 83 τύραννον—κακηγορεῖν Co coll. Plat. Gorg. p. 522 b; vulgo τυράννου—κατηγορεῖν: τύραννον **Ξ**.
 - § 15 l. 87 πάντες κακόνοι εἰσί Co coll. Mem. 11 ii 9: vulgo πάντες πάντα κακά νοοῦσι: πάντα, quod omittunt libri, habet Stobaeus om. πάντες.
 - § 17 l. 98 $\delta\sigma\theta l\epsilon\iota\nu$ καl πίνειν **BF H** (in quo καl ante $\delta\sigma\theta l\epsilon\iota\nu$) I Stobaeus.
 - § 18 l. 103 πλήν ούχ οἱ τύραννοι Co ex Athenaeo (ubi tamen ούχ uncis inclusit Kaibel): νulgo πλήν οἱ τύραννοι. Cf. de rep. Lac. ν. 6, Dem. 18, 45 καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπογθότων ἀπάντων, πλήν οὐκ ἐφ' ἐαυτοὺ ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἤξειν, 56, 23 νῦν δὲ φαίνεται (ἡ ναῦς) πλέουσα πανταχόσε πλήν οὐκ εἰς ᾿Αθήνας. 104 οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν αὶ τράπεζαι Athenaeus.
- § 19 1. 107 ἐκεῖνο vulgo: ἐκείνου, quod Stobaeus habet, 5 malit Co. 111 τῷ χρόνφ τῆς ἐδωδῆς Υ Stob. (τῆς ἡδονῆς Δ sec. Sauppium): corr. Steph. 119 ex Athenaeo. μειονεκτεῖ ὁ post Castal. Steph. 11: μειονεκτεῖς Δ (m² μειονεκτεῖ ὁ) cet.
 - § 21 l. 117 οὐκοῦν vulgo: οὔκουν Breit. 122 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ut inficete et putide repetita damnat Co. 125 ἀγ-λευκέστερον Zeune alii: ἀγλυκέστερον Υ.
 - § 22 l. 128 τούτων vulgo; τούτοις Η.

- § 28 l. 132 ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα vulgo: ταῦτα ζητήματα Stobaeus; ταῦτα ἐδέσματα Cobetus cum Athenaei cod. Marc.; ἡδύσματα temere Coppello, et mox ἐπικονρήματα mavult. 133 voculam ή ante μαλακῆς suspectam habet Sauppius. Pro μαλακῆς Stobaeus habet $d\mu\alpha$ κακῆς: μ ὴ διὰ κακῆς Athenaeus, unde Kaibel effect ἀηδία κακῆς. 134 ἐπεὶ οἰ γε ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες Athenaeus: ἐπεὶ εῦ οῖδ΄ ἔγωγε ὅτι οἱ ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες Sa vulgo.
- § 24 l. 140 dxapírov Sa vulgo: $d\chi a \rho l \sigma \tau \omega \nu \mathbf{L} (\tau m^2) \mathbf{D} \mathbf{E}$ Stob. Par. A Villoison Steph.
- § 25 l. 143 τῶν σίτων vulgo: τοιούτων coni. Schenklius: certe τῶν τοιούτων debuit. Adnotat idem: Postquam Hiero vera esse quae de odoribus Simonides dixerat, concessit, haec addit: 'et eiusmodi rerum cui semper genus omne suppetit, is nihil earum sumit cum appetentia: verum cui quid raro contigit, is cum gaudio eo fruitur, si quando obvenerit'. 146 πιμπλάμενος Zeune Dind Sa: ἐμπιμπλάμενος W Stob. προφανῆ: προσεπιφανῆ Stob.

CHAPTER II

- § 1 l. 5 Pro $\delta \psi \omega \nu$ Heindorf Plat. Protag. § 100 p. 351 A scribi iubet $\delta \sigma \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$, respiciens cap. 1 § 24.
- § 2 l. 12 πλήθα: είδει ν. φύσει coni. Ernesti. Equidem, si quid mutandum, πίστει malim coll. quae Hiero dicit in responsione iv 1 de fi de servorum.
- § 4 l. 21 φανερά codicum om. Ernesti al., et Hesychius quidem v. ἀνάπτυκτα explicat per $\phi a \nu \epsilon \rho \dot{a}$. In Stobaeo legitur $\dot{\theta} \epsilon \dot{\alpha} \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota \phi a \nu \epsilon \rho \dot{\hat{\omega}}$ s.
- 7 § 5 l. 25 λεληθέναι vulgo: οὐδὲν εἰδέναι coni. Jacobs Animadv. in Athenaeum p. 189.
 - § 6 l. 31 ἐλάχιστον Co: ἐλάχιστα vulgo, quod ex seq. πλείστα ortum videtur.
 - § 7 l. 33 et ή μèν εἰρήνη—δ δὲ πόλεμος Co: εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη —εἰ δὲ πόλεμος Sa vulgo: et Stobaeus quidem δ δὲ πόλεμος habet.
 - § 9 1. 44 wot Heind. Sa Co: wov vulgo.
 - § 10 1. 52 ἐν ἀσφαλείς vulgo, quod apud optimos scriptores reperiri notat Sa; ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ Co. Cf. Eur. Hec, 981 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γὰρ ἤδ' ἐρημία, Hippol. 785 τὸ πολλὰ πράσσειν οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βίου, Iph. T. 762 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γάρ, Heracl. 397 ೬ν

άσφαλεῖ τε τῆσδ' ἰδρύσεται χθονός, Plat. legg. p. 892 Ε καταλιπόντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, Dem. de fals. leg. § 152 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι, § 262 ἔως οδν ἔτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ φυλά-8 ἔασθε. 55 ο ι ο ι εται Co.

- § 12 l. 62 δέν ταῖς πόλεσι Reuchlin Dind Sa; σὺν ταῖς πόλεσι (ὁ om.) Υ; ὁ συνών ταῖς π. e coni. Steph.
- § 14 l. 68 οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις Reuchlin (intervallo post οἱ relicto) Sa: οἱ σύνοντες πόλεσι Υ.
- § 15 l. 72 τοὺς πολεμίους primus inclusi. 74 δόξαν ἀναλαμβάνουστιν vulgo: δόξαν λαμβάνουστιν Co coll. Cyr. r vi 22, Plat. Politic. p. 290 d., Eur. Hel. 847 πῶς οὖν θανούμεθ' ὥστε καὶ δόξαν λαβεῖν.
 - § 16 1. 79 n addidit Co.
- § 17 l. 82 αντιπράττοντας: vulgo ἀντιπραττομένους, quod ut foedam barbariem damnat Cobetus N. L. p. 555. Sauppius contra conferri iubet Plutarchum Cam. vit. c. 42 αντιπραττομένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οὐκ ἐώσης ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, et Pelopid. vit. c. 17 τῷ δόξη καταπληττόμενοι τοὺς ἀντιπραττομένους, ubi tamen Dindorfius Thesaur. ἀντιταττομένης et ἀντιταττομένους contra Sintenisium reponi vult. Adde Dionys. Halio. A. R. vii 51 ἀντιπράττεσθαι λόγοις τε καὶ ξργοις.
- § 18 l. 90 τούτου < ἔνεκα > Schn Co: τούτου vulgo, quod cum Reuchlino prorsus omittere quam cum aliis ἔνεκα addere malit Sa. Cf. iii 4 l. 16. Ceterum τοῦτο Frotscher post Jacobsium Anim. in Athen. p. 224, qui confert Cyr. vi v 9 δ λέγεται φοβερὸν εἶναι...τοῦτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε, Heind. ad Plat. Phaedr. p. 228: quibus locis addi potest Cyr. v v 42 ubi vide quae adnotavi. 98 οἰον Co: vulgo ὄν.

CHAPTER III

- § 11. 1 &s Ernesti Dind Sa: a's GIKO: o'as Steph: #s Br vulgo.
- § 2 1. 6 αν που dπŷ Co Sa: libri αν που ἀπίγ. Sed absentem, non abeuntem, desiderare solemus.
- § 8 l. 12 unproceed: unproceed Z, unproceed M; unproceed K: cet.
- § 4 l. 17 avrais A (in mg m² a $\delta ro\hat{s}$) Z Sa Br: a $\delta ro\hat{s}$ vulgo.
 - § 5 l. 19 ráyabá Schn e Stobaco: ayabá Y.

- 10 § 7 l. 25 δήπου om. A.
 - § 8 1. 28 εδρήσεις μὲν τοὺς ίδ. vulgo: εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν 1δ. Stobaeus 81 ἀπεκτονότας Stobaeus: ἀπεκτονηκότας vulgo. 84 τυράννους delet Cobetus.
 - § 9 l. 37 φιλείν Stobaeus: libri φιλείσθαι, A omisso sequente καί: φιλείσθαι [καὶ νόμω συνηναγκασμένων] Stobaeus Meinekianus.

 39 χρή Dind Co; χρην (χρήν) Υ.

CHAPTER IV

- § 2 1. 7 τοῦ πιστῶς πρός τινας ξχειν vehementer suspecta sunt Cobeto, ut quae et frigeant nec satis ei convenire videantur, 'quoniam πιστῶς έχειν est πιστὸς εῖναι, neque hoc tyrannus expetit ut ipse erga alios servet fidem, ὅπως αὐτοῖς πιστὸς ἐσται, sed ut habeat quibus tuto credere possit'. 9 οὐδὶ σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς οὐδὲ σίτοις κὰὶ ποτοῖς Athenaeus Kaibelianus: οὐδὲ σίτοις οὐδὲ ποτοῖς Stobaeus Meinekianus. οῦτε σιτίοις κρατίστοις Υ: ἀκρατεστάτοις purissimis coni. Heind, coll. Piers, Moer. 25.

 11 ἀπογεύεσθαι ΔΧ Athenaeus Stobaeus.
- 11 § 5 l. 28 vulgatum verborum ordinem τιμωρεῖν αὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς correxit Weiskius. Schenkelius cum Richtero αὐτοῖς, quod aliquis ad τιμωρεῖν s. v. adscripserit, potius quam cum Frotschero αὶ πόλεις, quo aegre careas, eiciendum esse indicat. 28 τοιοῦτόν τι, Schenkelius; post Cobetum; τοιοῦτο Stobaeus Meinekianus; τοιοῦτον Α (ν post ο eras.) Χ.
 - § 6 1. 28 8 8 ord of a Cobetus coll. vi 12; vulgo el $\delta \in \sigma \delta$ of e.. 88 hystra: \mathbf{F} : hyptra: vel hyptra: cet.
 - § 7 1. 39 θάττόν τι cum Stobaeo (θᾶσσον) Zeunius:
- § 8 1. 45 Scripturam Stob. MS Paris. αλλά μέντοι και πλουσίους δψει ούχ ούτως δλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς πένητας πολλούς τῶν τυράννων probant Heindorf et Schneider. Magis placeret quod editus habet ἀλλά μὴν και πένητας δψει δλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, πολλούς δὲ τῶν τυράννων, nisi eadem sententia in vulgata inesse videretur (Sauppe). 46 ούχ ante ούτως delent Bremius, Breit.
 - § 9 1. 57 Ti accessit e Stobaco.
 - § 10 l. 63 voμίζοι libri praeter Z in quibus legitur καλοί, qua de forma vide Rutherford The New Phrynichus p. 442 εq.

... .

CHAPTER V

- § 1 l. 3 κοσμίους Υ; αλκίμους cum Stobaco Co.
- 13 § 2 l. 9 ἐπεξαιρῶνται: ante Schneiderum ἐπεξαίρωνται legebatur. Cf. Plat. Rep. p. 567 в.
 - § 4 1. 28 συγχαίρει **F** et **K** (in mg), συγχωρεί cet.

CHAPTER VI

- 14 § 2 1. 9 φδαίς τε: τε om. Z. 11 εδθυμίας Co duce Weiskio: μέθης Schn; μεθύσεως Schenkl.
 - § 8 l. 14 αὐτὸς τοῦ W et A E L (in quibus ν ante s eras.); αὐτούς cet.; αὐτοῦ τοῦ Brodaei lectionem restituit Zeune.
 - § 4 l. 19 dóπλους G Sa; ανόπλους A (ν eras.) cet.
 - § 5 1. 22 βαρβάροις δέ: vulgatam τε ita cum Bachio corr. Weiske. 26 φόβων: φόβων τε A (in quo τε eras.) Ζ; φόβων γε scribendum suspicor. καταπεπληγμένης libri: παραπεπληγμένης cum Stobaeo malit Cobetus, sed vide Cyr. m i 25.
 - § 6 1. 29 συμπαρομαρτών λυμαντήρ e Stobaeo Cobetus συμπαρακολουθών λυμεών Sa vulg.
 - 15 § 9 l. 40 ήμεις γε ed. i Steph Zeune; ήμεις τε Υ. 42 λαγχάνομεν A. (in mg m² τυγχάνομεν) Χ: τυγχάνομεν Ζ.
 - § 12 l. 54 δ δ εξήλωσας Steph: δ δ ε ζηλώσας ΔΧ.
 - § 14 l. 65 κατακαίνων Co Sa: κατακτείνειν libri, quod epicorum et tragicorum esse monuit Cobetus N.L. p. 560. Attica habentur ἀποκτείνω, ἀπέκτεινα, ἀπέκτονα; κατα-16 καίνω, κατέκανον, κατακέκονα. 68 δέη Schn Sa: τε δέη Α G ΣΙ ΣΕ.
 - § 16 1. 79 απαλλαττομένους: απαλλαττόμενα em. Cob.

CHAPTER VII

§ 2 1. 12 τοις τυράννοις vulgo Sa: τοὺς τυράννους Schn Hdf Ha Co: sed additi ad ποιεῦν dativi exempla sunt Hell, πι i 8 αὐτῷ (τῷ Κύρφ) ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, δ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον, ν iii 10 οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν, Mem. π iii 13 τοῦτο δέοι ἄν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείν ψ ποιεῦν, Απαδ. πι ii 24 ἡμῖν ἄν οἰδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος τοῦτ' ἐποίει, τν ii 23 πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ὅσαπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ν vii 29, vii i 2 ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιήσειν αὐτῷ ὅσα δέοι, ΒΕq. βλακί γε

μήν ἴππφ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τάναντία ποιεῖν, Plato Apol. Socr. c. xvii p. 30 λ ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ ξένψ καὶ ἀστῷ, Isae, de Nicostr. her, § 19 δε τῷ τεθνεῶτι μηθὲν τῶν νομιζομένων ποιήσας τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ κληρονομεῖν ἀξιοῖ. The occurrence of ἄλλον in the next clause does not affect the question whether τυράννους οτ τυράννοις be the right reading, because it may be attracted into the case of the relative δντινα, of. Anab. v v 12 ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Παρλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον δντινα ἀν δινώμεθα φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, τ iv 15 άλλον οὅτινος ἀν δέησθε οίδα ὅτι ὡς φίλοι τεΰξεσθε Κύρου, Dem. adv. Lept. § 120 ἔσται χαλκοῦς ἰστάναι καὶ σίτησιν διδόναι καὶ άλλ ὅτι ἀν βούλησθε πλὴν τούτων. 13 ὄντινα—τυγχάνουσι: ὅντιν' ἀν τυγχάνωσιν requirit Cobetus: τυγχάνωσι ΑΒΟ.

- § 3 l. 15 έπει σίτοις γε Schneiderus: έπει σιτίοις τε Υ (om. B). Cf. Oecon. VII 6 έπει τά γε άμφι γαστέρα πάνυ καλῶς ήλθε πεπαιδευμένη, Aunh. I iii 9 οθτε γὰρ ήμεις έτι ἐκεινου στρατιῶται ἐπει γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, Plat. Gorg. § 46 p. 492 n ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν σωφροσύνην—διά τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνανδρίαν ἐπει γε οῖς ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρξεν ἡ βασιλέων υἰέσιν είναι—τί—αἰσχιον 17 και κάκιον είη σωφροσύνης τούτοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 19 ἰμφύη Co; ἐμφυῆ Υ.
 - § 5 1. 29 αι ὑπουργίαι αι C: alteram αι om. cet. ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων Α (in mg m³ παρά) Χ; παρὰ τῶν φοβουμένων Ζ.
 - § 7 1. 30 φαίημεν: φαίμεν Dindorf.
- § 9 l. 45 κοινή Mehler Co: κοινή ε vulgo. 46 εθέλωσιν οι αύτοι, οὖτοι Reuchlin, Krueger: ἐθέλωσιν, οὶ αὐτοὶ οὖτοι 18 vulgo: αὐτοὶ οὖτοι Bremi. 47 οι ἀν ὑπουργήσωσι vulgo: ῷ ἀν ὑπουργήσωσι malit Schaeferus.
 - § 11 l. 61 δσπερ έκτήσατο Sa auctore Madvigio: δσπερ αν απαξ κτήσαιτο **ΑΚΟ**, δσπερ αν απαξ κτήσηται **Α, ΗΙΝΡ**; κτήσαιται **L** (η m²).
 - § 12 l. 63 [καl] ταύτη Reuchlin: ἐν (om. καί) ταύτη Υ (in Η ἐν expunctum). 67 ἀντιπαράσχοι libri: ἀντιπάσχοι D'Orville Charit. 217. ἐδέσμευσεν vulgo quod in ἐδησεν mutandum esse iudicat Cobetus, illud ratus non esse Xenophonteae actatis vocabulum. Habet tamen Plato Legg. p. 808 p ὁ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστότατον διὸ δη πολλοῖς αὐτὸ σίον χαλινοῖς τισι δεῖ δεσμεύειν monente v. d. Hermanno Hager in huius libelli recensione in Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift No. 24 p. 747.

CHAPTER VIII

- 19 § 3 l. 17 ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφότεροι v. d. ap. Frotscherum Co: ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρων libri.
 - § 4 l. 21 θεραπευσάντων —δόντων Co pro vulgatis $\theta \epsilon \rho a$ πευσάτωσαν —δότωσαν. 23 χαράν vulgo.
 - § 5 l. 30 ¶Stov in G add. idemque m² in A (s. v.) Z e mera coniectura profectum recepit Zeunius, ducem secutus Castalionem; $\kappa a \lambda \lambda l \omega$, quod vulgo receperunt ex Reuchlini editione, nihili esse statuit Schenkelius. $\mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda \delta \nu$ cum Leunclavio et Brodaeo Stephanus inseri maluit.
- 20 § 9 l. 41 μέλλομεν Weiske: μέλλοιμεν Υ.
 - § 10 1. 48 φόρημα vulgo: δορυφόρημα Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 250. 50 ίσστιμας $\mathbf E$: $l\sigma \delta \tau \iota \mu o s$ $\mathbf A$ ($-\tau \iota \mu o v s$ $\mathbf C$ $\mathbf C$ $\mathbf C$ adscivit Zeune. Schneidero videtur aliquod vocabulum latere in vitio aperto. Equidem cum Leunclavio legendum puto $\tau \iota \mu \hat{\eta}$ s aut $\epsilon \iota s$ $\tau \iota \mu \hat{\alpha} s$.

CHAPTER IX

- § 8 l. 12 ἀνάγκης δεέμενον Υ: τον ά. δ. Steph. Zeune.
 21 13 κολάζειν in ora libri adscriptum fuisse suspicatur
 Cobetus pro interpretamento.
 - § 5 1. 21 πολιτικά Stobaeus; κωλυτικά Υ. 23 μόρας Δ.: μοίρας cet. Stobaeus.
 - § 6 1. 29 ἐντόνως **D**, εὐτόνως cet. Stobaeus.
 - § 7 l. 30 ὁρμῶντό γ' ἀν L $(\gamma'$ ἀν in ras. m²) et \odot (?) Stobaeus; ὁρμῶντό $\gamma \epsilon$ A (in mg m² τὸ ἀν) cet.; ὁρμῶντο ἀν (om. γ') \bullet M.
 - § 8 l. 39 ἀν τῆ ἀσχολία συμπαρομαρτοίη Co: vulgo σὺν τῆ ἀσχολία συμπαρομαρτοῖ; sed dativo solo utitur post συμπαρομαρτεῖν in aliis locis, siout in Symp. iv 17, Cyr. viii vii 7.
- 22 § 10 l. 46 συνελόντι vulgo: συνελόντα D. 49 το σκοπείν G: τοῦ σκοπείν cet. 51 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ex Stobaco adscivit Steph II: ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Y.
 - § 11 l. 52 έπι πολλοις Co: έν πολλοις vulgo. Vide Wayte on Dem. Androt. § 69. 53 προτεθειμένων vulgo: προτιθειμένων Co. αί δαπάναι Co: δαπάναι vulgo.

CHAPTER X

- 23 § 4 l. 20 κακουργοι vulgo: και κακουργοι Heindorf.
 - § 5 1. 27 των ίδίων Zeune: των ίδιωτων Υ.
 - § 6 1. 32 ἐν στρατεία Sa, cf. vi 9: ἐν στρατιά Υ (τŷ post ἐν add. As. v. et K.
 - § 7 1. 35 rds δέ K (δ' om. cet.).

CHAPTER XI

- 24 § 2 l. 6 πρώτον vulgo: πότερον G. 9 παραστάσι vulgo: παστάσι Ernesti Schn G. Dindorf Thes. Steph. vi 391 c.
 - § 4 l. 15 to a G I O Steph. probante Cobeto; lõiq vulgo.
- - § 9 1. 39 πολλών insulse abundare vidit Cobetus.
 - § 10 l. 42 wo. We: $\pi \circ \nu$ Y. Compfeont vulgo: $\theta \in \omega \rho \eta \sigma \omega \nu \tau \iota$ Et et O.
 - § 12 l. 53 καl ante $\pi \rho o \theta \dot{\nu} \mu o \nu s$ del. Heind. Co. 57 $l \delta l \omega \nu$ post $\tau \dot{\omega} \nu \sigma \dot{\omega} \nu$ add. Y ($l \delta l \omega \nu \tau \epsilon \sigma$): seclusit primus Schn.
- 26 § 15 1.70 κεκτήσει ex Reuchlino et marg. Steph. revocavit Schaefer Mel. cr. p. 4: κεκτημένος Zeune: κέκτησο Δ; κεκτήσθαι cet. (G in mg γρ. κεκτημένος). 71 φθονήσει Co: φθονήση Reuchlinus; φθονηθήσει Υ.

END OF CRITICAL NOTES



INDEXES

- I ENGLISH
- II GREEK

INDEX I ENGLISH

N.B. The references are by Chapter and Section

Abstract nouns in plural 1 2. 1 5, 9 1, 9 11, 11 13 accusative, anticipatory 1 38, 5 2, 8 2 - in predicative apposition to infinitive 2 8 — of relative neuter pronoun in apposition with a sentence following 4 6, 6 12 - of noun-phrase in app. to the verbal action 9 7 quantitative, as measure of the degree of the act or process 1 21, 10 I — of kindred formation (πδ- $\lambda \epsilon \mu o \nu \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu \hat{\eta}$) 2 8, 12, 7 12 of kindred meaning (δπνον ἐκοιμῶ) 6 7 (cognate) replaced by neuter adjective 1 8, 3 2, 7 2, 7 9, 8 2, 10 4 adjective, position of, with the article, v. s. predicate - in apposition to the subject instead of the adverb (τίμια πωλείται) 1 13, 8 5 - verbal, in τέον, πρακτέον χρήματα 8 9 adverbial use of cases (rour) adverbs of intensity emphasized by ral 2 10 - position of 1 8, 3 8 - of rest after verbs of motion 2 q

anakoluthon 4 6 answer, affirmative and negative, forms of 1 21 antecedent: v.s. relative aorist indic, instead of the present 1 3 ingressive 6 1 apposition to the object (rare except in the accusative) 6 3, 6 5, 10 4, 11 13, 11 14; with $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$ and dative 5 3, 54 partitive (instead of a partitive genitive) 3 8, 5 1, 9 1, 9 5, 11, 11, 12 - to characterize a whole sentence 9 7 - definitive 11 5 — descriptive, 1 14 article with generic word 1 13, 18. 26. 5 I - with adverb 1 12 - omitted with ourse when the noun is part of the predicate 1 22 - third attributive position of 9 6 - used where in English a possessive pronoun 1 15, 17, 4 2, 4 — with adverb (τὸ πρόσθεν) 2 18, 33, 11 3 - generic 3 1

- with 8hos 1 5, 2 17, 8 4, 11 3

- with τοιοῦτος 10 3

attraction of the subject of an object-sentence as object into the principal sentence, where the principal verb is one of saying, thinking and knowing, \$ 2; also in sentences with \(\mu_1'\) after verbs denoting apprehension 5 2—of the antecedent into relative clause 6 11, 15

C

Causative middle 1 10 choragus, the office of 9 4 choruses at festivals 9 4 collective noun, transition from, to a plural 2 13 comparative to be supplied from correlative clause 10 2 conditional sentence, double 2 10: conditional relative conjunctive after historical present 11 II construction of a clause not necessarily affected by δείν, χρήναι etc. 28 crases: κάκείνας for και έκείνας 6 1: καν for καὶ ἐάν 11 15

Dative of general reference

1 2, 1 14

L.

of cause 1 23, 4 3
of possession 1 r
of degree of difference with comparatives 1 19
after adverb of likeness 6 3
after compound verbs 6 6
ethical 8 2
of respect 1 2, 14, 18, 2 2
of standard 4 8
demonstrative pronoun, emphatic repetition of 1 17, 9 2; after articular infinand preposition 4 5

different forms of the same word in juxta-position 46

 \mathbf{E}

Ellipsis of parts of elul 3 1 of ἐστί especially in universal propositions 3 r. 6 o with dyaθόν 3 I άνάγκη 5 3, 9 10, 10 8 άσφαλές 1 12 — εἰκός 1 1, 9 6, 10 7 — ἡδύς 4 I — ἡδεῖα 4 I — βάδιον 2 15 σαφές 8 4 -- Φοβερόν 1 ι 2 — γαλεπόν 2 16 — χαλεπώτερον 6 1 1 of elol 43 of substantive (γη̂) 2 8; (000s) 68 (HA. § 622) emotion, verbs of, construcof 1 5 epanaphora, instances of 1, 5, 2 2, 15, 3 2, 6 2, 3, 7, 15, 16, 7 1, 8 7, 11 5, 10

F

Festivals and sacrifices, entertainments given to friends after, 8 3 forms of the same word, different, in close proximity 4 6 future middle of some verbs used in passive sense 9 9, 11 15

G

Genitive of the agent after verbal substantives 7 6, 8 4

— with verbs to denote the object aimed at 9 9

— of enjoyment 1 24

— of value 6 10, 9 11

genitive objective, drawaus πολέμου 2 11

- partitive 1 13, 25, 2 5, 3 3,

6, 48, 9, 6 15

 — with adverb of place, πόρρω προεληλύθασι φυλακής 4 4

- with verbs of ruling 11 5, 7

— with eykparts, akparts 5 2 - predicate after γίγνεσθαι

21, 38, 613 - referring to the object of a

sentence 6 13

н

Horses, the keeping of 2 2, 11 5

I

Imperative denoting a supposition 11 3

infinitive dependent upon ad-

jective 4 7

 attraction of predicate relating to the subject of the infin, when it is object of the principal verb 1 9, 2 1, 3 8; even when deir and such verbs are expressed 28

- sometimes predicate in accusative (έξεστι.....φοβου-

- μένους) 2 8, 10 4 - with de answering to the
- potential optative of direct discourse 1 4, 17 - with ws limiting and re-

stricting 9 10

- active where other languages have the passive 4
- the articular in the genitive 4 2, 63, 8 1
- in the dative 7 3 - in the accusative 2 5.
 - 3 5, 9 10, 11 7

_ _ with dori 4 5, 5 1

- with &id and acc. 4 11, 6 3, 7 7, 8 2

- with & 16, 15

- - with μέχρι 6 2

- with ὑπέο 4 17

- as subject of verb 1 16, 24, 16, 64, 711, 81, 92, 3

- indefinite subject of, not expressed 10 I

- of purpose, intent 5 2

N

Negation repeated in solemn protestations 1 2

negative answers, various modes of expressing 1 21

neuter (sing.) of the predicate adjective with feminine substantive 7 12, with mas-

culine 6 9

nominative, change of the active construction of the verb with the dat, or gen. into the passive with, e.g. άπιστοθμαι 4 Ι, προστατοθuai 5 i

0

Object-sentences, the subject of, attracted into the principal sentence 8 2 optative with & in conditional

sentences where protasis is implied, not expressed (potential) 1 1, 7, 13, 16, 21, 2 11, 4 10, 6 13, 14, 11 8, 0, 10, 11, 13

forms of 7 7

Parechesis: συν ĝν ήδόμενος ήδομένοις 6 3

participle, circumstantial denoting cause 1 2. 4 6

— virtual primary predicate 1 11, 13, 2 12, 4 10

participle with article used attributively = substantive 1 15, 3 5, 6 16, 9 9, 11 8 - emphasised by διὰ τοῦτο, 4 6, by Exerta 7 9 - causal 11 6 - concessive 1 13 supplementary, with εὐρίσ-KEU in indirect discourse 1 11, 3 8, 7 13; with aloθάνεσθαι 6 1, 7 10; with elδέναι 2 0, 10 4; with verbs of continuing 2 18, 4 2; with verbs of emotion 8 5 - with the object of verbs of seeing τούτον παρόντα όρωσw 3 2, 6 15 - in lieu of protasis 4 1 - preceded by ws denoting cause 11 6 - containing leading idea of the expression 4 10 partitive apposition 3 8, 5 1, 91, 11 11 periphrasis of conjugation: έσει with present participle 11 7 dub. personal for impersonal conφοβερδς — μη struction ποιήση 6 15: ὅποπτος είναι ποιείσθαι 1 15 -- pronoun used for demonstrative 1 17 pleonasm: ζημιοῦν καὶ κολά-(EU 9 2 pleonastic use of Epn etc. 1 15 plural, sudden transition from, to singular 3 4, 4 2, 6 14, 7 3 — of abstract nouns 1 2, 5 - where in English the singular 18 poetical words used by Xenophon, άγχιτέρμων 10 7 άκήρατος 3 4 άνεπτυγμένος 24

βεβρωκώς 1 24

repalpeu 7 2

γαυρούσθαι 1 15

δώρημα 8 4 ξκπαγλος 1 3 εὐφροσύνη 7 🛦 κρυφαίος 10 6 μιαιφόνος 🕹 🛦 potential optative, 1 1, 16, 211 predicate adjective 16, 8 - special use of 1 12, 19, 22, 4, 3 5, 4 8, 8 6, 10 2, 11 4, 7, adjective for adverb 1 13, nominative proleptic, 1 18 — genitive after elvai 1 9 preposition, to be supplied with the relative pronoun from the antecedent 1 11 prepositions to denote the agent with passive and neuter verbs, ἀπό 4 6, ὑπό 2 3, 3 8, mapá 8 4; omission of, in relative clause 1 11 proleptic predicate 1 18 pronoun, demonstrative, used as an emphatic repetition of (expressed or omitted) antecedent 1 17 relative assimilation of. to the case of its antecedent 6 II protasis in conditional sentence contained in οῦτω 31 I — implied 1 1, 13, 16

R

contained in participle, 11 3,

Relative clause continued by demonstrative 6 I

R

Sacrifice, feasting after 8 3 singular, transition from, to plural 2 13, 8 4, 5 3; and from plural to singular 6 14 sleep, cause of, different opinions on, 1 6
subjunctive with relative words
and ἀν 1 14, 20, 2 8, 16,
3 1, 4 6, 5 2, 8 6, 9, 10 2;
with temporal conjunctions
and ἀν 2 18, 3 4, 5 2, 6 11,
8 7, 9, 9 3
subjunctive present of δύνασθαι after οὐ μή 11 15

and conjunctions οῦτως 1 Ι μάλα 2 3 πάνυ 2 Ι μέν 3 8 μηδέ 4 4

and intensifying adverbs

transposition for the sake of emphasis of words 3 1, 4 4, 9 7, 10 4 'tyranny' in the Greek sense, v. Introd. p. xxxix ff.

 \mathbf{T}

Temporal particles used causally 3 4, 4 2, 7 3, 8 7
'the more—the more', how translated in Greek 1 21, 5 4
transposition of qualifying

V

Verb, middle, causative sense of, = to get a thing done by another 1 19 verbal adjectives in τέον 8 9 — substantives, with the genitive of the agent 8 4

The References are by Chapter and Section.

)(indicates 'as distinguished from'.

The numbers affixed to words denote respectively:-

- 1 doubtful or suspected words
- 2 words that occur only once in Xen.
- 3 words that occur only once in Xen. and seldom, if ever, in other writers
- 4 Ionic words
- 6 poetical words
- 7 un-classical words

INDEX II GREEK

A

αγάλλεσθαι with part. 8 5 άγασθαι)(φοβεῖσθαι 5 τ άγειν πρός έχθράν 9 1 αγλευκής, a Sicilian word 1 21 άγχιτέρμων⁶ 10 7 dδελφός, gemellus, similis, adj. followed by gen. 1 22 άδίκως συλάν 4 11 del for exactore, quotiens res fert 7 2 άθλιος 6 4 10, 7 12 άθλον: άθλα προτιθέναι 9 4, 9 7 alpelσθαι σίτον, capere cibum 6 7 ακήρατος 6 3 4 akovely the tipos 7 1 ἄκουσμα, res quae auditur 1 4 ακρατής)(σοφός 5 2 άκρόαμα 1 14 αλκή⁶, fortitudo 9 6 άλκιμος ⁶ δ 3 dλλd in quick answers and objections 1 8, 9 r — with imperatives 11 13 — preceded by μέν 1 16 — ἄρα 1 13; γε 2 10 οὖν, in apodosis after ἐἀν γέτοι, in relation to a latent feeling in the mind of the speaker 1 14

άλλὰ ἤ 5 2

— μέντοι, denoting transition
to a new topic 1 24

— μέντοι καί 4 γ

μέντοι καί 4 7
 μ;ν (καί) 'then again', marking a transition to a new argument 4 1, 3, 5 4,
 10 6

άλληλοφόνοι² 8 8 άλλος 'besides' 28; τάλλα as a substantive 9 5; άλλος δστις in the same case 7 2; άλλο τι 1 23

άλλως τε καί praesertim, 'especially', relates to some condition or state of things, the existence of which is assumed 6 11

assumed 6 11
αλυπος πρόσοδος 9 9
αμα μέν — καί — δέ 6 4; αμα with
participle 2 17
αμφί τι έχειν 1 12
αμφότερα τὰ έργα utrumque
munus i.q. utriusque munus
1 10
αν with imperfect indicative

— with optative (potential)
where protasis is not expressed 1 1, 7, 13, 16, 4 10
with infinitive representing

dv with optative of direct discourse 1 3, 8 3, 10 3, 11 2, 4

av repeated in the same clause - omitted in second of two clauses 7 12, 9 7, 11 6 - attached to the emphatic word in a sentence 9 9 - with relative and temporal words followed by subjunctive, making them indefinite 1 14, 20, 26, 36, 38, 28, 16, 31, 46, 52, Ĭ0 2 - anticipated hyperbatically with oluge and the like 1 3. 8 3, 10 3 - for ear 2 1, 13, 3 2, 5 4, 8 2, 10 4 άνὰ τὴν χώραν¹ 'up and down the country', 10 5; ara στόμα έχειν 7 9 αναγκάζειν 9 2 άναγκαστέον² 8 9 ανάγκην προστιθέναι τινί 9 4 αναλαμβάνειν δόξαν amissam gloriam recuperare 2 15 αναπτύσσεω: ανεπτυγμένος6 =φανερός 2 3 αναστρέφειν: τοῦτο ξμπαλιν ανέστραπται inversa est ratio 4 5 ανδραποδώδης, illiberalis 5 2 ανεπιφθόνως 27 10 άντικοδς τινος 1 14 ανήρ--ανθρωπος 2 ι, 7 3;)(γυνή 4 1; ανήρ τύραννος 8 10, 11 6; α. ἄρχων 8 5, 9 3, 11 ανθρωποι, homines, 'men in general', 1 2, 22, 3 1, 7 9, 8 8, 11 11; εν ανθρώποις 'in the world' 11 7, 15 άντέχειν τινί 11 15 άντιπαρέχειν δεσμούς 7 12 άντιπράττειν dub. 2 17 ἀντιτάττεσθαι; ἀντετάξω, 6 7 άντίτυπος)(ἐπίχαρις 9 4 άξιοθέατος 1 ΙΙ; τὰ άξιοθε ατότατα 1 11

άξιος πολλού 2 4; άξιος πλείστου τινί 4 3 άξιοῦν 1 13; οὐκ άξιοῦν nolle, indignum habere 5 2; άξιοῦσθαι δωρεών 11 12 ãoπλos 6 4 άπαλλάττεσθαι κακού 6 16, 7 11 άπαρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς 🕰 2 άπείναι (not άπιέναι) που 3 2 απέκτονα not απεκτόνηκα 2 16 άπεκτονώς not άπεκτονηκώς 3 8 απεχθάνεσθαι, exosum esse 8 8 άπιστεῖσθαι passive 4 1 ἀπό: ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος 10 3; από τινος εὐφραίνεσθαι 4 6; ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου 4 10; άπὸ τῶν ἴσων 8 2; instrumentum quo quid fit 8 2; άπο των ίδιων κτημάτων δαπανάν είς το κοινον άγαθόν 11 ι; από πολλών οίκων τος δαπάνας ποιούμενος 11 6 απογεύεσθαι 🖢 2 άποδημείν peregrinari 1 12 aπoθaveîv, occisum esse 2 16; άπόκεισθαι 2 5 amortelval for amortelvele 6 15; άπεκτονέναι 2 16, **3** 8 άπολαύεω cum gen. rei, 'to enjoy a taste of', 1 24; aroλαύειν άγαθά τινος 7 9 άπροφασίστως ύπηρετείν τι τινί 7 2 doa with optative and dv = amild imperative 1 r apyakéos 6 6 4 ἀργεῖσθαι neglegi 9 o άρετή, bonitas cuiusque rei propria: άρετη Ιππου 2 2; άρετη **а**рµато**з 11** 5 άριστος πλήθει i.q. διαφέρων dub. 2 2 ἄρμα: ἄρματα (equos iugales) τρέφειν 11 5 άρματοτροφία 11 5 άρχεσθαι: άρξομαί σοι απο

των μικροτάτων 8 2; άρξάμενος από τινος si incipias ab aliquo 1 10, to be translated by an adverb 'particularly' doxw, the official president of musical contests, 9 4 ἀσθενείν languere: ἀσθενούσης τρυφή ψυχής 1 13 ασφάλεια: έν ασφαλεία 2 10 àτίμητος 2 9 10 αὐξάνειν (αὕξειν): ηὐξηκέναι 2 15 αὐτίκα, 'for instance', when the first instance that presents itself is urged, Fr. d'abord, Germ, gleich 2 7 avrós solus, 'alone' 1 5; ipse, 'self' 1 24, 28, 5 2, 9 7; ol avrol iidem, 'likewise' 7 0; for ouros 1 16, 6 15 αὐτοῦ μένειν, 'to remain at home' 11 10 αφανίζειν)(αναφαίνειν 8 6 αφιέναι: αφέσθαι τυραννίδος **7** 11 αφόβως 27 το ἀφροδισιάζεσθαι (de muliere) 3 4 άφυλαξία 6 4 axapıs, iniucundus 1 24

В

βάρβαροι)("Ελληνες 6 5 βεβιασμένος, vi subactus 2 12 βρώσκειν⁶: βεβρωκώς 1 24

г

γάρ in explanatory affirmations, especially after demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, 31, 7, 51, 712; γὰρ δή 72; καὶ γὰρ δή 137 γαυροῦσθαι ε ἐπὶ τινι 215. This word (like γαυραϊσθαι το eq. x 16) is properly applied to horses bearing themselves proudly, prancing, hence it

expresses the feeling of selfcomplacency and conceit. such as pride of birth, of outward appearance or successful performance; Plut. Coriol. vit. c. 15 δ τι περ έν τη πόλει μάλιστα γαυρούμενον εύγενεία, Arat. c. 22 της ψυχης το γαυρούμενον καὶ χαίρον, Eur. Or. 1532 ξανθοίς έπ' ώμων βοστρύχοις γαυρούμενος γε emphasizes a word without intensifying its meaning, 1 7, 16, 3 9; γε μήν, porro, 'and further', 8 7, 10 5, 7; 11 13; yé τοι 1 14, 6 6 repaipers 7 2 γίγνεσθαι: τὰ γιγνόμενα 'facts'

γιγνώσκειν: Εγνωκας 7 11 γοῦν, certe quidem 2 8, 3 3, 10 8 γυνή uxor)(ἀνήρ vir 4 1

Δ

δαπανάν είς τὰ δέοντα 8 Q; είς τούτους 10 8; είς τὸ κοινὸν άγαθόν 11 ι δαπάνη: δαπάναι είς τὰ καθ' ημέραν 4 9; δ. els τàs της ψυχής φυλακάς 4 9 δέ properly indicates that the new clause stands in some contrast to what has preceded 6 16; ordinarily it is used in the continuation of a narrative, i.e. to show that the new fact is not simultaneous, as re would imply; it is generally the second word in the clause δὲ καί 'and also' 11 10

δείν, χρήναι, etc. in constructione delitescunt 2 8; τδ δέον 11 1 δεσμεύειν 1 6 14; δ. δεσμαία () \ δεσπότης)(δοῦλος 10 4 δή: ἐνταῦθα δή 2 10; καὶ μὲν δή 2 12, 18. ν. ε. γάρ, μέν δήλον ότι 3 4 διά: δι' ἀπεχθείας γίγνεσθαι)(διά χαρίτων γ. 9 2; διά φιλονικίας πρώττεσθαι 9 7; διά χαρίτων είναι 9 Ι διάγειν τον βίον άφόβως 7 10; intrans. διάγειν οθτως 7 10; διάγειν μετρίως 18; διάγειν πιστεύων 42; διηγον έν συμποσίοις 62; διάγειν ώπλισμένοι 28 διαιρείν: διήρηνται 1 15 διακούειν 7 1 1 διατελείν with participle 2 18 διαφερόντως with gen. 74 διδάσκειν χόρους 94 δοκείν, 'to be thought' 25; οί δοκοθντες not 'men of reputation' 2 1. See Jebb on Soph. Oed. R. 1191 ed. 2 δόξα: δύξαν άναλαμβάνειν 2 15 δοξάζειν δρών 2 3 δορυφορείν c. acc. tueri instar satellitis 4 3 δώρημα⁶ 8 4

E

έἀν---έάν, in same clause 2 10; έὰν---άλλά 2 10 έγγίγνεσθαί τινι 1 30; έν τινι 10 2 έγγύς: έγγυτέρω 74 έγκαλείν τἢ πατρίδι 5 3 έγκρατής τινος 5 2 έγὼ μέν 1 7, 74, 11 6 έδεσμα: εδέσματα cibi 1 23 έθέλειν, 'to do a thing willingly' 79; έθελήσαις 1 1 eθeλουσίωs1, 11 12 έθίζειν: είθισμένον, τό 9 7 el siquidem, 'since' 27, 90 el after θαυμάζειν 1 6; εl 'whether' 17, 31, 82 el ris for ootis 6 2, 11 11

είδέναι: ἴσασιν ὅντες 2 10; καὶ τοῦτ' εἰδεῖεν ἄν ὡφελούμενοι 10 4; οίδα ὅτι 10 2; οίδά σε γεγενημένον 1 2: ούκ οίδ' εί 17; εὐ ἴσθι ὅτι 6 15; εὐ ἴσθι without or (mihi crede, profecto) 7 10, 11 15 elkos 1 1, 96, 107 είκότως 7 4, 10 5 είκών: είκόνας 45 είναι: έκων είναι 7 11; τῷ ὅντι 79; εὖ ἔσει νικῶν dub. 11 7 είργειν έκ των ίερων 4 5 είρήνη 10 7 els, 'in point of', 'in respect to' 1 2; for έπί 'against' of hostile action 2 10; els, 'on', of expenditure 4 9, 8 g, 10 8, 11 ι; εls τὸ παρίν 5 2 είσηγεῖσθαι άγαθόν τι 9 10 είσφέρειν χρήματα 9 7 èk of the cause 88; of the source 7 6, 8 4; ἐκ τοῦ Ισου 85; έκ των ίσων ύπουργημάτων 8 7; έξ όφθαλμῶν γίγνεσθαι 16 13; έξ έναντίας 6 8 EKAGTOS for eKAGTOTE TIS 1 21 έκάτερος 8 α ėkeivos, referring forward 1 16, 18, 8 2

ξκπαγλος 6 11 3 ξκπλεως: ξκπλεα ξχωσι 10 2; ξκπλεφ παρασκευασμέναι έορ-Tal 1 18 EKTÍVELY 7 12 έκὼν είναι 7 [[έλευθερία 5 Ι έλεύθερος 5 2,)(δοῦλος 6 5 έλλείπειν: τὰ τῶν Ικανῶν έλλείποντα 4 8 ξμπαλιν 4.5 ξμπειρος είναι τι 1 10 έμποδών τινος 8 τ έμποιείν 8 4 έμπορία 9 ο έμπορεύματα 9 ΙΙ ξμπορος 9 ()

έμφανής 9 10 έμφύεσθαί 9 8, έν τινι 7 3, 9 8; ols ἀν ἐμφύη 7 3 ἐν, 'in', i.e. 'by', of the distinctive mark by which anything is recognised, ἐν τούτφ σαφές 8 5; 'among', έν άνθρώποις 11 7, 15; έν πολεμίοις είναι 2 g; έν άσφαλεία 2 10; έν ακινδύνω είναι 2 10; ἐν κινδύνω είναι 2 10; έν τινι εὐφραίνεσθαι 1 16; διήγον έν συμποσίοις 6 2; 'in respect to' 17, 8, 22; έν τινι ήδονην έχειν 2 15; έν δλίγφ χρόνφ 1 13, 6 11; έν δπλοις είναι 2 13, 10 6 évavtlos: ¿¿ évavtlas 68 ένδεής: ένδεεστέροις 5 4; ένδεως τι ποιείν 9 2, 4 Ενδεια 4 10 ἐνδέχεται licet 4 o ένέδρα όμοίως 6 3 évelval rivi inesse 66 Evekév tivos quod attinet ad, quantum situm est in-h.e. si nihil opus est nisi: Evekev άσφαλείας έξεστι 11 10 ένεργος, 'employed' 98; 'productive' 11 4 ëνθαπερ i. q. έν als 2 4 έννοείν 8 2; έννόησον 9 11 ένοραν 63 έντόνως 96 έξάγεσθαι, 'to elicit' 9 11 έξανίστασθαι 7 5 έξαπίναιος 4 10 7 έξαρκεῖν, in personal construction 7 12 é Ecîvai licere 6 14 éfein liceret 11 10 έξεργάζεσθαι 9 2; την γην κάλλιστα έξεργαζομένοις 9 7 έξευρίσκειν 9 9 έξικνείσθαι (vim habere, valere) els εύφροσύνην 8 3 έξορμαν, impellere 9 10; έξορμᾶσθαι, exire 8 g

έξουσία 5 2 έξω, praeter, 'without', 'except' 1 7; extra, ξξω της έπικρατείας γένωνται 6 13 έπαινείν 7 0. 8 3. 9 8 Exavos 7 33 έπει, 'for' 3 4; έπει-γε 7 3 έπειδάν 2 9, 8 7 έπείπερ 7 4 έπειτα δέ 4 10, without δέ 2 11; with principal verb after participle = propterea 7 9 έπι μείοσι, ob res minoris momenti 10 8; with dat. and verbs of emotion, ἐπί τινι ηδεσθαι, λυπείσθαι 1 5, 2 13; γαυρούσθαι 2 15; συνήδεσθαι 3 2; συγχαίρειν 11 12; ἐπί τι **ήδιον ίέναι 1**2 ε έπιβουλεύεσθαι (PASS.) 7 10 έπιδεικνύναι 11 10; έπιδείκνυσθαι 1 13 έπιδιδόναι, incrementa capere 9 7 έπίδοσιν έχειν 1 18 έπιθυμείν 10 7 έπιθύμημα, desideratum 47 ἐπίκαιρος 11 8, 10; τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, loca opportuna 10 5 έπικράτεια, potestas, ditio 6 13 έπιλαθέσθαι 6 2 έπιμέλεια 9 2; έπιμέλειαι studia 91.11 έπιμελείσθαι 10 5 έπιμελητέον 9 Ι έπινοείν, in animum inducere 2 2 έπισκέπτεσθαι: ἐπίσκεψαι 3 6 έπισκοπείν 8 2 έπιστήμαις άριστος 2 2 έπιτελεῖσθαι 9 10 έπιτήδευμα 11 5 έπιτρέπειν: έπιτρεπτέον 8 ο erixapis, incundus 9 5 έπιψεύδεσθαί τι, aliquid mentiendo addere 2 16 έργάτης 6 10, 10 5 Epyon, munus 1 10; Epyon woi-

εῖσθαι seq. τι vel infinitivo cum vel sine articulo 9 10; έργα δουλείας 7 8 έρημία)(δχλος 6 4 έρρωμένως 9 7 €ρυμα 2 10 έρωτικός: έρωτικώτατα έχειν 1 21 eraipos 3 7, 6 3, 11 14 έτι μάλλον, 'still more' 2 18; ἔτι δεινότερα 68; ἔτι δέ, 'and moreover' 8 10 ξτοιμος 10 7 eb vikav 11 7 εὐδαιμονείν 5 3, 11 15 εύδαιμονία 11 5 εύδαιμόνως 7 10 εὐδαίμων: εὐδαιμονεστάτην 11 7 εὐεργεσία 7 ο εύεργετείν 7 9 εὐετηρία proventus 5 4 εύθυμία, oblectamentum in epulis 6 2, 11 7 εύθύς, statim, dub. interdum confirmat, indicans id quod statim ut verum se commendat 28, 94 εύλαβούμενος 6 15 εύμενής benevolus 11 12 εύνοια παρά τινος 6 3 εὐοπλία 3 9 6 εδοπλος 5 3, 11 3 ευρίσκεσθαι 9 10 εύταξία 9 6 εύφραίνειν 8 3; εύφραίνεσθαι έν τινι 1 17; ἀπό τινος 4 6 ευφροσύνη 118,74; ή ευφροσύνη της έλπίδος 1 18; εὐφροσύναι 1 2, 6 1 έφίστασθαι έπί τινι: έφεστήκασιν 9 5 ξφοδος 10 6 Exew with adverb 'to be circumstanced', 'to be so and 80', οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει 1 8, 4 6; έχειν άθύμως πρός τι 8 Ι; έχειν έρωτικώς τινος 1 21; έχειν πιστώς 4 2; έχειν άμφί τι 112; έχειν ἐπίδοσιν

1 18; έχευ πράγματα 7 2; έχευ τυὰ ἀνὰ στόμα 7 9; έχευ posse objective 8 1, 7 έχθρα 9 1

7

ζηλοῦν: ἐζήλωσας 6 1 1 ζημιοῦν 9 2 ζῷον 7 3

H

interrogandi particula 1 21 η in a question without πότερον preceding 11 2 η 'or else' = εί δὲ μή 4 II ἡγεῖσθαι: ἡγησάμενοι 7 ο ηδεσθαι έπί τινι)(ἄχθεσθαι 1 ₄ — with dative 6 3, 7 3 — with participle 5 3 ήδέως libenter 18, 3 2, 6 3, 4 ήδη 10 4; ήδη ποτε 6 7; τοῦτο ηδη (iam per se, utique) 1 36; ούτοι ήδη 7 3 ηδιον libentius 1 17, 18, 8 5 dub. ηδιστα libentissime 3 2, 10 8 ήδύς: πάντων των ήδέων 66; ήδιόν τι 1 21 ήλικιώτης aegualis 6 2 ηκιστα minime 9 7 ημισυς: αὶ ημίσειαι χάριτες 84 ήσυγία 6 2 ъттон minus 9 8 ที่ Trων: ที่ Trous 4 6

θ

θάκος 7 7 θαλία 2 6 2 θάλπη 1 5 θαρραλέως 6 9 θαρραλέως 6 9 θαρρών 2 11; ξνεκά τινος 2 18; θαρρών confidenter 11 13 θάρρος 10 5 θαττόν τι citius 4 7 θαυμάζεσθαι (PASS.): θαυμάζοιο 11 6

θαυμαστός 11 9; θαυμαστόν, εἰ 16 θέαμα: τοῖς διὰ τῆς δψεως θ. 1 10 θεᾶσθαι 7 9, 8 5; θεῷο 11 12 θεραπεία: θεραπείαι 8 4 θεραπευσύντων for θεραπευσάτωσαν 8 4 θεράπων 4 1 θερατής 6 10 θεωρεῖν 11 10 θτομοροί 11 13 θύειν: θύσας 8 3

I

ίδιος: τοῖς σοῖς ίδίοις (ἐργάταις) 10 5; τὰ σὰ ίδια 11 4; τῶν ιδίων έπιμελείσθαι 10 5; από τῶν Ι. κτημάτων 10 Ι ιδιωτεία)(τὸ ἄρχειν 8 Ι ιδιωτεύει»)(άρχειν 8 5 ιδιώτης)(ἀσκητής 4 6; 'a private person')('an official' 1 2, 18, 8 3;)(τύραννος 4 8, 9, 6 1, 7 2, 11 6;)(πόλις 11 ο ιδιωτικός)(τυραννικός 1 2 lévai: Îdi on porro 83 lkarós c. infin. 7 0, 10 5; i. drήρ, dives ac potens 1 0: τά ί. 4 8; ί. ψυχάς 7 12 laruch 9 6 Ιππικός 9 ΙΙ ₹## os 10 2 lπποτροφείν e coniect. Cobeti ἴσθι : V. B. εἰδέναι ίσος: ἐκ τοῦ ίσου είναι 8 5; τὰ ίσα 8 4 Ισοτιμία dub. 8 10 Ιστάναι: είκονας Ιστάσιν 4 5 lσχυρός: l. άκροπόλεων 4.7

K

καθαρεύει»² 4 4 καί atque adeo 6 6; prefixed to interrogative pronouns and

particles 1 1, 15, 7 11; emphasizes adverbs of intensity when prefixed to them. καὶ μάλιστα vel maxime 2 10: καὶ πολύ 87; καὶ— $\gamma \epsilon$ adeo, 'yes and' 1 17, 22, 3 8, 6 16, 8 9, 9 7, 10; καλ—δέ insuper 4 5, 6 14; kal yap etenim, 'for in fact' 11 1; και μέν δή 'and further' 2 12; καὶ μήν--γε 'moreover' 98; kal ovros et is, isque, formula quae inferendae rei inservit, quae id quod iam dictum est augeat atque acuat 10, 22, 78; καὶ ταῦτα idque, et quidem, 'and that too' 1 o, 78 dub. καιρός τάγους 8 ο kakelvas for kal ékelvas 6 1 κακηγορείν τινα coni. Cobeti pro vulg. κατηγορείν 1 14 κακοδαιμονείν 24 κακύνους coni. Cobeti 1 15 κακούν: κακώσαι 2 2 κακουργείν 10 8 κακουργία 9 8 κακοῦργος 4 3, 10 4 καλλωπίζειν: (PASS.) κεκαλλωπισμένην 11 2 καλόντι pulcrum quiddam 2 16; καλλίονα 8 5; τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοίς 10 3; κάλλιον 11 5 κάμνειν aegrotare 8 4 kar i. q. kal éár 11 15 κατά in distribution: κατά λόγους 9 5; κατ' άγρούς, κατά κώμας 9 7; καθ' εν singula-tim, 'one by one'; κατὰ συμφοράν 3 4; κατ' όφθαλμούς 1 14 καταγελάσθαι: καταγελώο 11 6 καταθεᾶσθαι considerare 3 ι κατακαίνειν 6 14; κατέκανε 7

κατακοσμείν 11 3 κατακρίνειν: κατακεκριμένος άποθνήσκειν 7 10

unclassical in κατακτείνειν prose for katakaively 7 12 καταλείπεσθαι (PASS.) 5 2 καταμανθάνειν: καταμεμαθηκέναι 14 καταμέμφεσθαι, cum accus. 'to complain of' 86 κατανοείν: κατανενόηκας 1 22 καταπλήττεσθαι: ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης 6 5 dub. κατασκευάζειν: (PASS.) κατασκευάζεσθαί τινι 2 2. 11 κατατιθέναι: καταθέσθαι οπυκ deponere 7 13 κατεργάζεσθαι 2 2: κατεργάσασθαι 4 7; κατειργασμένος κοιμάσθαι υπνον 67. The verb means properly to take up a position conducive to sleep' 'to lie down' (Hom. Od. xx. 1). Hence it is often found with our as its object, as in Hom. Il. ΧΙ 214 ως δ μέν αὖθι πεσών κοιμήσατο χάλκεον υπνον, Hippocr. Epid. 2, 10 τοῖσι πλείστοισι ή βαρύ κῶμα παρείπετο, ή μικρούς και λεπτούς ΰπνους κοιμᾶσθαι κοινη, adverb, una 15; publice 70 κολάζειν 9 2 κολαστέον 8 ο κόρος 11 ο κοσμείν 11 5 κόσμος 2 23, 5 1, 6 κρατείν τινα εθ ποιούν 11 15 κρείττων 7 7 κρίνειν τινί 'to judge by a thing', 1 17, 48 κρυφαίος 6 10 6 κτάσθαι: κτώ 11 12; ἐκτήσατο κτήμα: κτήματα 4 5, 6 15 κτήνη, τά, pecora 10 5

κτησάμενος 10 1; κεκτήσει 11 15; κεκτημένος, ό, 6 16 κωλύει impers. with τί οτ οὐδέν: τί κωλύει περαίνεσθαι 9 5 κωλυτέον 7 8 9

Λ

λαγχάνειν δείπνου καὶ ὅπνου 6 ο λαμβάνειν δόξαν 2 15; λαβών άπιέναι 'to go away with' λανθάνειν, followed by relative clause 3 2: λανθάνει τωά περί τινος 2 5 λιμήν 4 7 λοιδορείν 9 2 λοιδορία 2 1 14 λόχος: κατά λόχους 9 5 λυμαντήρ³ corruptor for λυμαντής 3 3, 6 6. (Xenophon was fond of the forms in -τηρ as θεραπευτήρ for θεραπευτής Cyr. VII v 65, άρμοστήρ for άρμοστής Hell. IV viii 39, δοτήρ, αποδεκτήρ Cyr. VIII i 9, επιτακτήρ Cyr. m iii 4: see Rutherford's New Phrynichus p. 59, p. 165) λυπείν 6 16; λυπείσθαί τινι 46: έπί τινι 1 5 $\lambda \nu \pi \eta \rho \delta s 6 6, 8$ λυσιτελείν 7 13 λυσιτελής 9 1 Ι

M

μακαρίζειν 7 10
μακαριώτατον κτήμα 11 15
μάλα transposed 2 3; οὐ μάλα
έχειν ἀμφί τι 1 12; μᾶλλον
omissa re comparata 16;
to be understood from the
correlative clause 10 2; μάλιστα πάντων 3 6, 6 13, 11 6
μαρτυρεῖν 9 3
μεγαλόπρεπής 11 5, 7
μεγαλύνεσθαι ἐπί τινι gloriari
2 17

μέθη **6** 11 μείζον δύνασθαι 8 2 μειονεκτείν, construction of, 1 11, 14, 18, 19, 21, 36, 41; μειονεκτείν των ιδιωτών 'to have less (in regard to i.e.) than private persons' 1 18 μειούν elevare 2 17 μείων: μείονες 'fewer' 2 17; μείω 1 8 μέλειν: μέλει τινί περί τινος 9 10 μέλλειν: εl μέλλομεν si volumus, 'if we mean' 8 o μέν—άλλά 2 2, 6 g; ἄμα μέν καl—čέ 6 14; μέν γε certe quidem 1 11. 8 9: μέν-δέ not always subjoined to the words opposed 1 9, 3 8; μέν -μέντοι 8 I, 9 I; μέν solitarium, without any adversative copula, έγω μέν 17, 3 7, 11 6; μέν omitted when δὲ καί follows 11 10; μὲν δή in introducing a subject 14; in concluding a subject 1 16, 2 14, 18; οὐ μὲν δή nequaquam 3 3; μèν οὖν in replies 1 21, 22, 10 2; μέν μέντοι 'although—yet' 8 ι; ούτε σύ ούτε άλλος μέν δή οὐδείς 7 1 1 μένειν αὐτοῦ 11 16 μετά πόθου 1 25; μετά χαράς 1 25 μεταδιδόναι 11 12 μετέχειν, construction of 2 6, μετρίως διάγειν 18; μ. διαιτᾶσθαι 1 10 μέχρι τούτου hactenus, hucusque, 'thus far' 17, 2 14; μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι 6 2 un in temporal sentences with indefinite antecedent 1 12: μη δτι—άλλά 85; with participle and article 108; in sentences denoting 'precau-

tion', 'suspicion'='lest' 2 8, 4 2, 5 2, 7 10, 9 11, 11 12 μήν, history of the particle 10 5; γε μήν 8 7, 10 5, 8, 11 13 πηγανασθαι 4 10, 5 1: εί μεμηχανημένος είης 11 5 μηχανήματα, 'dainties' 1 22 μιαιφόνος 6 4 10 μικρόν: μ. άθλα 9 11 μισείν 7 7: PASS. 10 I μισθός: μισθοῦ gen. pret. 6 το μισθοφόροι 8 10, 10 1, 3, 4 μόραι Lacedaemoniorum 9 5

N ναὶ μὰ Δία 1 13, 6 10, 10 2 νη Δία 8 8 νηποινεί² 3 3 (In an inscription at Thasos of the middle of the 5th century B.C. we find the form akovitel, which must be recognised as the proper form against the testimony of Apollonius de adv. p. 571, 4 and Herodian περί διχρόνων p. 374. See Roberts' Introd. to Greek Epigraphy, p. 60.) νικᾶν 11 5, 6; ν. πολύ magnam et certam victoriam reportare 2 16; VIKAV TIVA EÜ TOIWY 11 14, 2 16 meaning in the same clause, lege sancire and putare 3 3; νομίσαις 6 I I ; νομίσαντες 7 (); νομιζόμενοι 7 3

voul(ew 6 12; with double νῦν: τὸ νῦν 8 ι

νύξ: καλ νύκτα καλ ήμέραν 7 10

ό έν ταῖς πόλεσι civis, where ol έν ταιs πόλεσι cives might be expected 2 12

οίκαδε 2 Q οίκεῖος: οίκεῖον άγαθόν 7 ο olkétns 4 7

oixia 2 10, 4 7 olkor 1 12 olkos 11 14 alos 6 8 δλεθρος, mortis instar 4 9 δλos, position in reference to the def. article 1 5, 2 17, 8 4 δμιλείν 6 3 όμιλία 4 Ι δμοίος: τὰ ό. ποιῶσιν 8 2 όμοίως 8 4; ό. ἄπαντα 6 16; πάντα δμοίως 7 31; δμοίως (aeque ας) ένέδρα φυλάττομαι 63; δμοίως μέν-όμοιως δέ tam —quam 10 5 δνίνημι: όνησαι 2 2 8πη **4** 9 όπλίζειν: ώπλισμένοι 2 8: ώπλισμένους 6 4 δπλον : ἐν δπλοις εἶναι 2 13, **10** 7 όπλοφόρος 28 δποι 9 7 δπότε quandocumque 9 7; quandoquidem 8 7 δπότε γε 4 2 δπου 2 16; δπου ού-δπου μή 1 12, 2 16 όπως c. indic. praes. for ότι after ou heyw 9 1 οράs, parenthetical 1 16 δρέγεσθαί τινος 7 1, 3, 9 7 δρμᾶσθαι **9** 7 δσμαί 1 24 δs qui: δ έζήλωσας 6 12; δ σύ đei **4**6 $\delta \sigma os: \delta \sigma \psi - \tau o \sigma o \psi \tau \psi$, with the comparative in one member only of a bimembral sentence 10 2 δστις: δτφ 11 12; δτι περ, i.q. ταύτὸ ὅ 11 14; ὁτιοῦν 1 13 ov pleonastice 1 18 ού μή with present subj. 11 15; οὐ μάλα 1 12; οὐκ—ἀλλά non tam-quam 810; οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία-οὐ μέν οὖν 1 2 Ι οὐδέ, ne-quidem 'not even' 5 2, 4; etiam non, 'not

either', 'no more' 8 3, 4 6. 5 2, 6 12; οὐδέ - γε, 'no nor', 'nor yet' 47 oùdeis: oùder nequaquam 1 23. 10 1; οὐδέν τι, 'not one bit' 2 3: οὐδέν τι μάλλον 2 18; ούδὲν ήττον 3 4, 5 1; ovderos nullius rei 10 3 οὐκέτι, non item, non aeque 1 16, 2 14 ούκοῦν 1 21. 9 6 obr resumptive 10 4 ovros emphatic, with demonstrative reference to relative clause preceding 1 17, 21, 46, 73; for τοιούτος 85; και ούτος 2 2, 78; διά τούτο emphasizing a preceding participle 46; &à raûra 'for this reason', 33, cf. 6 12; Kal ταῦτα 'and that too', 1 0, 78; ταύτη hoc nomine 7 12 ιδτως serving as protasis in a conditional clause 13; with demonstrative reference to preceding ώs 7 10; οῦτως separated from its adjective 1 1; οθτως—ως tantopere quantopere 4 8, 6 11; obtws transposed 1 1; οῦτως usque adeo, tantopere 2 16, 17 δφθαλμός: έξ δφθαλμῶν τινος γίγνεσθαι 6 13 δχλο**s**)(ἐρημία **6** 4

П

πάθημα 5 2
πανήγυρις 1 11, 11 5, 10
πάντοθεν 6 8
πάνυ 9 1; πάνυ μὲν οδν in
answers 1 21, 22
παρὰ πᾶσιν αρια omnes 11 10;
τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους 11 13; παρὰ φύσιν 1 22
παράδειγμα 8 2
παραπλήττεσθαι 6 5 dub.
παρασκευάζευν εfficere, reddere,

with predicate acc. 53; exπλεω παρεσκευασμέναι 1 18 παραστάς2: παραστάδες 11 2 dub. παρατιθέναι apponere: παρατίθεσθαι (passive) 1 17, 22; (middle) sibi apponi iubere 1 170 παραχωρείν όδου τινι 7 2, 7, 9 παρέχειν praestare: παρασχείν ώφελήματα 10 4; θάρρος 10 5; ασφάλειαν 10 5; σχολήν 10 5; κόσμον 11 2; φόβον allows 11 II; facere with pred. acc., παρέχειν την πόλιν εύδαιμονεστάτην 11 7 παριστάναι: όταν καιρός τάγους παραστή 8 0 πας: πάντων μάλιστα 66, 613, πατρίε 11 14; al πατρίδες 4 3, 4, πεζός: πεζή)(κατά θάλατταν 8 9 πείθεσθαι 11 τι πειρώσθαι (MED.), πειρώ 11 15. πεπειραμένος expertus 1 2, 26 πένης (cui quidem nihil superest sed tamen suppetit unde vivat Ar. Plut. 552) 48, 10 περαίνεσθαι confici (a favourite word with Xen.) 9 5. 7 περί: ή περί τὰς τιμάς εὐφροσύ-P7 7 4 περιάπτειν comparare: σαυτώ δύναμιν περιάψεις 11 13 περιβλέπειν suspicere 7 2 περίβλεπτος 11 q περιττός with gen. 1 10 Tn 1 2 TLEEP 4 2 πιστεύεσθαι passive 5 2 πίστις πρός άλλήλους 4 τ πιστώς έχειν πρός τινα 4 2 Theiara plerumque 4 11 πλεονεκτείν 1 14; τινός 8 2 Theoregia)(looriula (dub.) 8 10 πλήθος, τό δ τ πλην ού 1 18 dub.

πλησιάζειν: οί πλησιάζοντες. 1 24, may mean either 'those who are near his person' (cf. Soph. Oed. R. 91) or 'members of his household' (ib. 1136) πλουτίζειν, locupletare 11 13 πλούτος 'superfluity of substance ' 48; πλούτοι 11 13 ποιείν with double accusative 6 5, 10 8; ποιείν τινί τι 7 2; ποιείν τούτο vicariously 'to do so' 4 5, 7 13, 9 9; moieiσθαι έργον 9 10; πεποίηνται νόμον 4 4: ποιητέον 9 2 ποίδε τις qualis fere 6 7 πολεμία sc. γη 28 πολεμικός: πολεμικών έμπειους πόλεμος: πόλεμον πολεμείν 28 πολιτικός 10 5 πολλαπλάσιος 49, 87, ή 113 πολύς: πολύ διαφέρειν 2 2; πολύ διαφεράντως 1 20; πολύ νικάν 2 16; πολύ misplaced 18 πολυτελής)(εύτελής 1 20 πονηρός 7 11 πορεύεσθαι 11 10 πόρρω with gen. 'far gone, advanced' in anything, different from πόρρω 'far from' πότερος 8 2; πότερα utrum 11 5 ποτέρως utro modo 11 4 ποτόν: V. S. σίτος που 3 2 πράγμα άργάλεον 6 4; πράγματα έχειν 7 2 πραγματεύεσθαι 8 8 πράττειν: πρακτέον χρήματα exigenda pecunia est 8 9; τούτο πράττειν 'to do so' 11 10 mply dy generally with nor, to express an action preceding

the action of the antecedent

negative clause, the verb

in which is future or some equivalent for the future 613 προαισθέσθαι 10 6 πρόθυμος 11 12 προκαθίστασθαι2 6 0 προκινδυνεύειν τινός 108 πρόμαχος 11 ι 2 προνοείν τινος 10 8, 11 12 προπετώς 7 2 πρός c. acc. 'at', 'in consequence of' 81; secundum, denoting the standard by which a thing is tried 48 c. dat. 'in addition to', \probs τούτοις 'besides' 10 5; adverbial in compos. 1 23 προσδείσθαι 1 23, 4 11 προσειπάτω 8 3 προσήκει 8 7, 11 6 προσίεσθαι appetere 1 20 πρόσοδος άλυπος 9 ς; πρόσοδοι προσποιείσθαι sibi arrogare 2 16 πρόσρησις² salutatio 8 2 προστακτέον 293 προστάται πόλεως 11 7 προστατείσθαι regi 5 ι προστατεύειν πόλεως 11 5, 7 προστάττεσθαι 7 2, 9 4, 10 4 προστιθέναι ανάγκην 9 4 προτιθέναι ἄθλα 9 4, 10 4; PASS. 9 ΙΙ; προτεθειμένος unclassical for mpokeluevos 9 11 προτιμάσθαι: τοις προτετιμημένοις)(τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου οδσι προφυλάττειν τινός 6 10 πρώτον for πρότερον 4 2 πώποτε 7 11 πως ού 6 A

P

ραδιουργείν 8 9 ρώννυσθαι: έρρωμένως 9 7 Σ

σαφής: σαφές 82 σίτος: σίτον αίρεισθαι 67; σίτα και ποτά, 'meat and drink' 1 4, 2 Ι, 4 2, 7 3; τῶν σ. παντοδαπά 1 25 σκέψις 9 ο σκοπείν 8 2 σοφίσματα de ciborum condimentis 1 23 σοφός)(ἀκρατής 5 2; σοφόν τι 11 10 σπανίζειν 1 14; σπανίσας 1 25 σπονδαί 2 11 στερείν: στέρεσθαι privatum esse, carere, στερόμενος 6 1: στερηθώσι 1 12 στεφανούν 7 ο στόμα: ἀνὰ σ. ἔχειν 7 ο στρατεία: ώμεν έν σ. 6 9 στρατεύειν 28; στρατεύωνται 29 στρυφνός 1 22 συγκαταμιγνύναι2 την ψυγήν Tivi toto animo se dedere alicui rei 6 2 συγχαίρειν 5 4, 11 12 συλάν ίερα και ανθρώπους 4 ΙΙ συμβόλαια 3, τά 9 6 συμπαρακολουθείν 3 6 6 συμπαρέπεσθαι 8 5 συμπαρομαρτείν 6 6; c. dat. συμπεριάγεσθαι 28 συναιρείν: ώς συνελόντι είπείν ut paucis absolvam 9 10 συναναγκάζεσθαι 8 0 συνείναι τινι 1 26, 4 4, 6 2; συνήν έμαντώ 6 2 συνεπικουρείν 3 2 συνουσία 4 Ι συντάττειν: οι συντεταγμένοι 10 7 συντέμνειν τας δαπάνας 4 ο σφάλλειν)(σώζειν 10 7; σφάλλεσθαί τι 3 2 σγολή 10 ς σώζειν 10 7; σώζεσθαι 5 3

σωφρονίζειν 10 3 σωφροσύνη 98

Т

ταπεινός 'submissive'. 5 4 τάττεσθαι (PASS.) 10 4 τάχος 8 9 τέκνα 11 15 τελεῖσθαι impendi 11 ι τιμάν 7 2, 9, 8 3; τιμήσομαι fut. pass. 9 q τιμή 7 1, 2, 3; 8 5; 9 7; τὰς τ. τιμωρείν 4 5; τιμωρήσασθαι 1 12 τίς (interrogative): τί οὐ with indic. (present or aor.) to express a command 1 3 τις (enclit.): ποιός τις 6 7; τι aliquantum 9 9; τι ήδιον 1 21; θαττόν τι 47; μέγα τι 7 Ι; οὐδέν τι 2 3; οὐδέν τι μάλλον 2 18; τοσοῦτόν τι άγαθόν 35; καλόν τι 216 τοιούτος: τὰ τοιαύτα 1 13, 7 3; τούς τ. 10 25 τρέπεσθαι 9 7; (ΜΕΔ.) τρέψασθαι fugare 2 15 τρέφειν ἄρματα 11 5; στράτευμα 4 11; φύλακας 10 4; PASS. 8 10 τρυφή: ἀσθενούσης τρυφη ψυχης τυραννείν 7 11; τυραννείσθαι (PASS.) 2 11; 6 14 τυραννεύεσθαι (PASS.) 2 11 τυραννίς, 5 3, 7 2, 4, 11, 12; 8 1 τύραννος—a ruler whose power is above and against the laws; it is characteristic of him that he rules in his own interest (τὸ ἐαυτοῦ συμφέρον wocei, Aristot. Eth. Nic. viii 12, 7, Introd. p. xxxix ff.): φιλόπολιν ανάγκη τον τ. είναι 5 3, 8 10; ἀνδρὶ τυράννω 11 6

ύβριστός: ὑβριστότερος 10 2 ύμνείν 11 8 ύπανίστασθαι (άπὸ) τοῦ θάκου T 2, 9 ύπεξαιρείσθαι 5 2 ὑπέρ 'with a view to' 4 3 ύπερβάλλειν: ὑπερβάλλουσα δαπάνη 11 2, τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἰκανά 48 ὑπέρευ² egregie 6 q ὑπερέχειν praestare 2 2 ύπηρετείν 11 10; ύ. τινί τὰ προσταττόμενα 7 2 ύπνον κοιμασθαι 67; ύπνοι 73 ύπό with verbal substantives to denote agency 1 28, 7 6, 8 4, 10 4; with intransitive neuter verbs 7 8, 10 4; original meaning of 8 1 ύποδύεσθαι πόνον 7 1 ύπολαμβάνειν excipere sermone et respondere: ὑπολαβών 6 Q, 8 r. 8 ὑπομένειν sustinere 7 4; ὑ. κίνδυνον subire periculum 7 1 ύπομιμνήσκειν τινά τι 13 ὑποπτεύειν 2 17 υποπτος in personal construction with infinitive 1 15 ύπουργείν τι 7 ο ὑπούργημα² beneficium 8 7 ύπουργίαι 7 5

Φ

φαγεῖν 4.2
φαιδρός 'beaming with joy'
2.17
φαίνεσθαι έχων aperte habere
4.6
φάλαγξ πολεμία 6.7
φανερός 9.9
φέρευ tolerare 7.4
φέρεσθαι προπετῶς εἴς τι 7.2
φημί 9.2; φάναι, ἔφη inserted
pleonastically 1.7,8,15,71;
φαίημεν 7.7

ὑβρίζειν 8 ο

φθονείν: φθονήσομαι in passive sense 11 15; φθονοῖο 11 6 φιλικώς amice, comiter 8 3 φιλονικία: διά φιλονικίας 9 7; διά φιλονικίαν 96 φιλόπολις 5 3 φιλοτιμία 7 3 φοβείσθαι ύπέρ τινος 6 10; περί έαυτοῦ 6 10;)(ἄγασθαι 5 1; φοβούνται τὰς πόλεις μὴ--γένωνται 5 2 φοβερός μη ποιήση 6 15 φόβος άπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων 10 3 dorevs: doreas 45 φόρημα 8 10 φροντίζεσθαι (passive) 'to be the object of concern' 7 10 φύειν: πεφυκέναι φύσει with infinitive 3 o φυλαί, the, of Attica 9 5 φυλακή 8 9, φυλακάς της ψυχής φύλαξ, φύλακας προκαθίστασθαι φυλάττειν 8 9 φύσις: φύσει πεφυκώς 8 7

X

χαλεπός)(ήδύς 2 12; χαλεπά μεν χρήσιμα δ' 6 16; χαλεπώτερα κατεργάζεσθαι 4 7; χαλεπώς αθτώς α

χρήματα έκτίνων 7 12; χ. είσφέρειν 9 7 χρῆσθαι: τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις 5 3; χρῆσθαι ('to find') ταπεινοτέροις αὐτοῖς 5 4; χρῷτο 6 15 χρήσιμος 6 16, 9 7 χρῆσις 4 8 χρόνος τῆς ἡδονῆς 1 19 χώρα rus 10 5

Ψ

ψυχή, 'appetite' 1 23, 'life' 49, 7 12, 11 14 ψῦχος: ψύχη καὶ θάλπη 1 5

Ω

ὐδη 6 2

ών είσθαι 9 11 ώs consecutive with infinitive for ωστε 10 I — with participle denoting cause 7 10, 11 6 - omission of, before nouns in apposition 5 3, 11 13 parenthetical clause introduced by, ωs συνελόντι εί-Teîr (ut paucis absolvam) 9 10 ώσπερ γε 1 24, 6 15 ωστε consecutive with indic. 6 10; with infinitive 1 12; to mark a strong conclusion, quare, itaque, 'and so', 1 7, 48, 11 11 ώφελείν 8 7, 9 0; PASS. 10 4 ώφέλημα, quod prodest, emolumentum 10 3 ώφέλιμος 9 10



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